A Biography of the Prophet of Islam

In the Light of the Original Sources
An Analytical Study

Volume 2

By: Dr. Mahdi Rizqullah Ahmad
Translated by: Syed Iqbal Zaheer

DARUSSALAM

السيرة النبوية

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Chapter 7

The Battle of Uhud

Date of the Battle

Biographical works are unanimous in that the fight took place in Shawwāl of the third year after *Hijrah*.[1] However, they disagreed over the day. Most opinions are that it was a Saturday,[2] in the middle of Shawwāl.[3]

Reasons

The most important reason was that the Quraysh intended to take revenge for their defeat at Badr and reclaim their position that stood damaged after the defeat at Badr.[4]

1 See this in the books of *Sirat*.

2 *Al-Wāqidi* (1/199), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/36) and Balādhuri in *Ansāb* (1/310), said that it was on Saturday, seven remaining of Shawwāl after the elapse of thirty-two months after *Hijrah*. But the chains are weak.

3 This part of a narration by Khalifah bin Khayyāt in his *Tārikh*, (p. 79), via a chain which has unknown persons. It is also Disconnected (*Mursal*). Tabari also mentioned it in the *Tafsir* (7/399) through a chain in which falls Husayn bin 'Abdullah who was unreliable; as also Ibn Ishāq in the *Sirat*, p. 324, via double *Mursal* chain which has a mix up of reliable and unreliable transmitters. Tabari's narration is more reliable than others. See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 65.

4 See Ibn Ishāq in the *Sirat*, p. 322, and *Ibn Hishām* 3/86-88) through a *Mursal* chain. It has a group of his teachers, some reliable, some not. Also see *Al-Wāqidi* (1/199) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/37) who picked it from Wāqidi.

Another factor was that the Quraysh wished to free their trade routes from the threats of the Muslims. Delivering them a blow would discourage them from challenging their caravans. They also hoped to crush the Muslim power base, before it got unmanageable.[5]

Their Numbers

The Quraysh set apart the profit they had earned from Abu Sufyān's caravan (which had led to the battle of Badr) for meeting the expenses of the next battle.[6] They collected around 3000 men. Some of them were from their allies in Kinānah and Tihāmah. They had two hundred horses and seven hundred armored men with them. Khālid bin Walid was in charge of the right flank and 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl of the left. A group of women also accompanied them hoping to encourage them and prevent their flight through their taunts. Ibn Ishāq gives their number as eight. But Wāqidi has said that they were fourteen.[7] Both have given their names. Ibn Sa'd said they were fifteen.[8]

The Prophet ﷺ saw in a dream what was going to happen at Uhud. He mentioned it to his Companions saying, "I have seen in a dream that I brandished a sword and its front part broke." That's what happened to the believers on the day of Uhud. "Then I brandished it a second time and it became whole as before." That was the help that Allāh (ﷻ) had extended and the regrouping of the believers. "And I saw a cow - and Allāh is the Good - lo, they were the believers on the day of Uhud."[9] According to another report, "I saw an armor that protected, and I interpreted it as meaning Madinah." Thus the Prophet ﷺ interpreted the dream as foretelling

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[5] This was said by Ibn Ishaq in the *Sirat*, p. 322, and in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* through a chain already discussed.

[6] This was said by Wāqidi (1/600).

[7] See *Ibn Hishām* (3/87) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq without a chain. See also *Tārikh* of Tabari (3/504) being a narration by Wāqidi; and Wāqidi himself (1/201).

[8] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/37).

[9] Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/123-124/H. 3622) and *Muslim* (4/1779-1780/H. 2272).

the defeat and that some killing was destined to happen.[10]

When the Prophet ﷺ learnt of the Makkan army approaching Madinah, he consulted his Companions giving them the choice between fighting from within the town and going out into the open. Some of the *Ansār* said: "O Messenger of Allāh! We don't like to fight in the streets of the town. We used to avoid this in pre-Islamic times and it is all the more unbecoming that we should do it after Islam. So, let's go out and face the enemy in the open." The Prophet ﷺ left them, entered his house and put on his armor. However, after he had retreated to his house, people began to criticize each other saying, "It looks like the Prophet intended something but you intended something else." They told Hamzah ؓ: "Go and tell him that we would rather follow his opinion." Hamzah went to the Prophet ﷺ and told him about what they were saying. The Prophet ﷺ said, "It is not for a Prophet to wear armor and then remove it until he has fought."[11]

Ibn Ishāq[12] has reported to the effect that 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy had agreed with the Prophet ﷺ that they fight from within the town. However, that does not coincide with Suddi's opinion in

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[10] Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/50). Sā'āti said that its chain is reliable. See other reports mentioned by him (21/51), and Ibn Sa'd (2/245), both with authentic chains. However, the chains are in words, "from so-and-so" (not named) and so Truncated (*Mudallas*).

[11] *Tafsir At-Tabari* (7/372-373/Shākir), through a Good (*Hasan*) but Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain ending with Qatādah. Ahmad brought it with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain (3/351) and *Ar-Rabbāni* (21/51-51); as well as *Al-Majma'* (6/107) but which is with a "so-and-so" of Abu Zubayr who himself was not reliable. It is strengthened by the narration of Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/204) through a *Hasan* chain from Ibn 'Abbās. The other through Musa bin 'Uqbah, *Mursal* with Zuhri (3/208). The *Hadith* was also reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/364-365) *Mursal*, coming from 'Urwah, as also in *Al-Hākim* (2/128-129, 296, 297) who declared it reliable and has the approval of Dhahabi. It was also reported in *Ibn Sa'd* (2/38) with a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain. The report thus becomes reliable considered as a whole. See Albāni's commentary on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, p. 269; and the thesis for Master's degree by Husayn Bākiri, *Marwiyyāt Uhud*, p. 62, and 'Umari in *Al-Mujtama': Al-Jihād*, p. 67, and Hammām Sa'eed and Abu Su'aylik in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (3/92).

[12] *Ibn Hishām* (3/91).

Tabari[13] which says the opposite. That report has a good chain of narrators, but it is Disconnected (*Mursal*). One of the transmitters was not too strong of memory, and also committed errors. Therefore, Bākiri[14] has accepted Ibn Ishāq's report for its trustworthiness and because it is narrated by several biographers. It is also agreed that Ibn Salul's excuse for breaking off later was on the pretext that his opinion had been disregarded.

Biographers have also said that an additional reason for preferring to go out into the open to fight the enemy was to fight to their heart's fill, and demonstrate their courage, especially on part of those who had missed participation in Badr.

As for the Prophet ﷺ, and those who were with him, their reasons for fighting from within the town were to use it as a fort and use every able-bodied person for the fight, as well as to have the resources close at hand.[15]

However, after the Prophet ﷺ had made up his mind, a black flag was raised along with three standards.[16] One was that of the *Muhājir*, which was in the hand of Mus'ab bin 'Umayr (taken over by Ibn Abu Tālib after his martyrdom). Another was that of Aws, which was in the hand of Usayd bin Hudayr. A third was that of Khazraj which was carried by Hubāb bin Mundhir.[17] Their total reached a figure of one thousand. They had two horses and a hundred armored personnel.[18] The Prophet ﷺ was wearing two coats of mail.[19]

When the Prophet ﷺ passed by Thaniyyatul-Wada' on his way out, he noticed a battalion composed of vulgar men. He inquired

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[13] His *Tafsir* (7/162) and the *Tārikh* (3/11).

[14] *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, p. 62.

[15] See Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/91-92); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/209-211) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/38).

[16] *Tārikh* of Ibn Khayyāt, p. 67, through a *Hasan* chain reaching up to Sa'eed bin Musaiyab, Disconnected (*Mursal*). However his *Mursal* reports are considered strong.

[17] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/215). However, none of the reports considering flags are strong enough for serious consideration.

[18] *At-Tabaqāt* (3/504), and *Tārikh* of Tabari (3/504).

[19] A *Hadith* reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/25) which he declared reliable and Dhahabi agreed with him; *Wāqidi* (1/219).

about them and was told that it was 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul who had brought six hundred men as volunteers from the Qaynuqā' Jews. They were of the same group as 'Abdullah bin Salām. He asked, "Are they Muslims?" They said, "No." He said, "Tell them to return, for we do not seek help of the polytheists against polytheists."[20] If this report is true then Qaynuqā' must have been expelled only after Uhud.

When the Muslim forces reached a place called Shawt,[21] Ibn Salul withdrew with three hundred of hypocrites on pretext that no fighting was going to take place, and objecting to the decision to go out and face the enemy in the open. He said, "He (Muhammad ﷺ) has followed the opinion of young men and those who have no sound opinion but ignored me. So, why should we get killed?"[22]

Some of the believers thought they should fight these hypocrites also, while others said fighting against them was disallowed. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

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[20] Ibn Sa'd reported it at two places, the first (2/39), without a chain, and the second (2/48) which we have brought here and whose chain has been disputed for reliability. For, Ibn Khidāsh was truthful, but committed errors; Muhammad bin 'Amr was truthful, but given to doubts, and Ibn Mundhir was acceptable. Nonetheless, the report is strengthened by others, e.g., Hākim's report in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/122); Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/37); Tabarāni in *Majma'ul-Bahrayn* (2/223); Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/203) where he said that Tabarāni recorded it in *Al-Kabir* and *Al-Awsat* but which has Sa'd bin Mundhir, who was treated as reliable by Ibn Hibbān. Other narrators are trustworthy. Ibn Ishāq also reported, however, its chain is Interrupted (*Munqati'*)—*Ibn Hishām* (3/93); *Wāqidi* (1/215-216).

[21] Now it is a sports training ground in Madinah. So said 'Ayyāshi in his book *Al-Madinah Baynal-Mādi wal-Hādir*, p. 369; and Bilādi mentioned it in his book: *Mu'jamul-Ma'ālimil-Jughrāfiyah fis-Siratun-Nabawiyyah* (A Dictionary of Geographical Landmarks in the Life History of the Prophet), p. 170. According to Wāqidi, the place of retreat was near the *Shaykhayn* area, close to Uhud—*Maghāzi* (1/219).

[22] Ibn Ishaq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/92); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/219); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/39); Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (3/208) being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Disconnected (*Mursal*) form. Bukhāri and others reported that "when the Prophet ﷺ came out for the Uhud campaign, some people who were with him returned..." See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/232/H. 4050) and *Bākiri*, p. 71.

﴿فَمَا لَكُمْ فِي ٱلْمُنَٰفِقِينَ فِئَتَيْنِ وَٱللَّهُ أَرْكَسَهُم بِمَا كَسَبُوٓا۟﴾

"So what is it with you that you are two groups with regard to the hypocrites, while Allāh has held them because of what they earned?"[23, 24]

When they withdrew, 'Abdullah bin 'Amr bin Harām went after them and pleaded, "I beseech you in the Name of Allāh that you do not dishonor your people and your Prophet at a time the enemy is at the gates." They replied, "If we knew there is going to be a fight, we would not abandon you. But we don't see a fight taking place." When they persisted against him, he cursed them in words, "O Allāh's enemies. May you be distanced. Allāh is quit of you and so is His Prophet." The Qur'ān referred to this talk when it was revealed,

﴿وَمَآ أَصَٰبَكُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلْتَقَى ٱلْجَمْعَانِ فَبِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ وَلِيَعْلَمَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ ﴿١٦٦﴾ وَلِيَعْلَمَ ٱلَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا۟ۚ وَقِيلَ لَهُمْ تَعَالَوْا۟ قَٰتِلُوا۟ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ أَوِ ٱدْفَعُوا۟ۖ قَالُوا۟ لَوْ نَعْلَمُ قِتَالًا لَّٱتَّبَعْنَٰكُمْۗ هُمْ لِلْكُفْرِ يَوْمَئِذٍ أَقْرَبُ مِنْهُمْ لِلْإِيمَٰنِۚ يَقُولُونَ بِأَفْوَٰهِهِم مَّا لَيْسَ فِى قُلُوبِهِمْۗ وَٱللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِمَا يَكْتُمُونَ﴾

"What befell you the day the two forces met (at Uhud), was by the Will of Allāh, in order that He may know the (true) believers; and in order that He may know those who resorted to hypocrisy. They were told, 'Come. Fight in the way of Allāh, or defend (yourselves).' They replied, 'If we knew there would be a fight, we would have followed you.' That day they were nearer to disbelief than they were to belief, uttering with their mouths what was not in their hearts. And Allāh is better informed of what they conceal."[25, 26]

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[23] *Surat An-Nisa'*: 88.

[24] This is mentioned in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/232/H. 4050). See other reports with Tabari in his *Tafsir* (9/7-9/Shākir). However, other reports have also come down regarding the cause of revelation of this Verse. See (9/9-16).

[25] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 166-167.

[26] Reported by Ibn Ishāq with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/93).

Also, Banu Salamah of Khazraj and Banu Hārithah of Aws were about to follow suit and fall back along with the hypocrites, had not Allāh fixed their feet along with the believers. Allāh (ﷻ) said about them,

﴿إِذْ هَمَّت طَّآئِفَتَانِ مِنكُمْ أَن تَفْشَلَا وَٱللَّهُ وَلِيُّهُمَا . . .﴾

"When two of your groups were about to lose heart, (but) Allāh was their (Friend and) Protector. And it is in Allāh that the believers ought to place their trust."[27, 28]

The Prophet ﷺ returned from his party those who were not of age: anyone fourteen years old or less. Those sent back were: 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, Zayd bin Thābit, Usāmah bin Zayd, Nu'mān bin Bashir, Zayd bin Arqam, Bara' bin 'Āzib, Usayd bin Zuhayr, 'Arābah bin Aws and Abu Sa'eed Khudri. It is said that they were some fourteen boys. Ibn Sayyidin-Nās[29] has named them. It is also proven that 'Umar's son was one of them.[30] However, the Prophet ﷺ allowed Rāfi' bin Khadij when he was told that he was a good shooter. And Samurah bin Jundub was also allowed to remain because he claimed he was stronger than Rāfi' and actually floored him in a wrestling match[31](right then and there).

That night Zakwān bin 'Abdul-Qays took charge of guarding against the army. It is said that he kept himself around the Prophet ﷺ not parting his company.[32]

When the army moved the next day—Saturday—to face the enemy, they passed by Mirba' bin Qayzi's orchard. He was blind and a hypocrite. He began to throw dust in the faces of the Muslims.

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[27] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 122.

[28] This was reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (5/233/H. 4051), and *Muslim* (4/1948/H. 2505) and Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/154), and Tabari's *Tafsir* (7/166). See also Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/220-222).

[29] *'Uyunul-Athar* (2/7). See them in *Al-Wāqidi* (1/216) and *Ibn Hishām* (3/96) without a chain.

[30] Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/276/H. 4097) and *Muslim* (3/1490/H. 1868).

[31] *Ibn Hishām* (3/96) without a chain.

[32] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/217) without a chain.

He told the Prophet ﷺ, "O Muhammad, if you are a Prophet, then let me tell you that I don't allow you to enter into my orchard. By Allāh, if I was sure I wouldn't hit anyone else, I would have hit at your face with them." The people were upset and wanted to kill him but the Prophet ﷺ restrained them saying, "Don't kill him. This man is blind of eye, blind of heart." However, before his words were completed, Sa'd bin Zayd ؓ had already hit the man and injured him.[33]

On the way to the field 'Umar ؓ asked his brother to put on his coat of mail. Zayd ؓ replied, "I am also aiming at the same martyrdom that you are aiming at." So, neither of them used it.[34]

When they reached the valley below Mount Uhud, the Prophet ﷺ placed his men facing Madinah and back to the Mount. He also selected fifty archers placing them under 'Abdullah bin Jubayr's command, and asked them to be on a hill called 'Aynayn, facing Mount Uhud. He feared that the pagan forces might attack from that side. He told them, "Do not abandon your position even if you see vultures circling over our heads until I send my word."[35] In this manner the believers took charge of the mountains leaving the open valley to the pagans.

When the two armies met, Abu 'Āmir ('Abd 'Amr bin Sayfi)[36]

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[33] Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/94); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/218).

[34] Reported by Tabarāni as recorded in *Al-Majma'* (5/298). Haythami said: "Its narrators are trustworthy." Bākiri also traced it, p. 93, adding, "I could not trace Ibrāhim bin Nasr. However, Ibrāhim bin Hamzah was reliable. So was 'Abdul-'Aziz bin Hamad. It has other supporting traditions, though weak, that Ibn Sa'd traced (3/383) which has been treated weak because of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar 'Umari. But the *Hadith* is reliable which more than one of the biographers have mentioned.

[35] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/132/H. 3039) and (15/224-225/H. 4043); *Musnad* of Ahmad and Hākim who quoted: "Take care of our rear. If you see us being killed, do not help us, and if you see us collecting the booty, do not join us"—*Musnad* (4/209/Shākir); who declared its chain authentic, and *Mustadrak* (2/296) who also declared its chain reliable. Dhahabi agreed with him. See its meaning reported by the biographers and war chroniclers: *Al-Wāqidi* (1/219-220) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/39-40).

[36] He was one of the Aws. He left Madinah to part company with the Prophet ﷺ. He had a couple of young Aws men. He had promised

called out to his Aws men to (abandon the Prophet ﷺ) and join up with the pagans. But they rebuked him in response and said, "May Allāh let you not experience anything good, you wretched man." He replied, "My people seem to have fallen prey to evil after me," and began to throw stones at them.[37]

The battle began with a duel between 'Ali ؓ and Talhah bin 'Uthmān who was a standard-bearer of the pagans. 'Ali killed him.[38] Then the two armies began to fight vigorously. The Muslims were able to break their ranks and penetrate deep in their lines. The Prophet ﷺ encouraged them by raising high a sword and saying, "Who will take this from me." Many men stretched their hands, saying, "I, I." He said, "Who will justify taking it?" Hands fell down. Abu Dujānah came forward and said, "I'll take it and justify taking it." He proved his words true and broke the pagan lines.[39]

Quraysh that if his followers met an enemy, not two of them would part company with him. He used to be known as *Ar-Rāhib* (the ascetic), but the Prophet ﷺ named him *Al-Fāsiq* (an evil person).

[37] Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/97-98), Disconnected (*Mursal*); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/223) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/40).

[38] Tabari reported in his *Tafsir* (7/281) with a *Sahih* chain but is one of the *Mursal* reports of Suddi.

[39] *Muslim* (4/1917/H. 2470); Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/123); *Al-Hākim* (3/230) that declared it reliable and with it Dhahabi agreed. But Bākiri did not agree (p. 108) counting this as an error from the two. For, 'Ubaydullah is unknown. Also *Ibn Sa'd* (3/556) and Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/97). Ibn Ishāq's tradition which goes without a chain states that Abu Dujānah asked the Prophet ﷺ: "What is the obligation on the sword?" The Prophet ﷺ answered: "It is to strike with it until it is bent." Abu Dujānah was a brave person who took pride during battles. When he wore on a red band over his head, people knew that he would fight. So, when he took the sword from the Prophet ﷺ, he brought out that red band, tied it on his head, and began to strut between the two warring parties. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him he remarked, "It is a gait that Allāh disapproves of, except in such a situation." Its chain is *Mursal* and is a very weak tradition as stated by Bākiri, p. 106. It is a report found in *Sirah Ibn Hishām* and Ibn Ishāq, p. 326 as well as *Usdul-Ghabah* (5/184). According to a weak report of Hākim, Abu Dujānah fought with it until he reached the mountain where he found women. One of them said, "We are daughters of the stars who walk upon carpets." He intended to slay her but remembered that it

That day the password of the Muslims was "*Amit, Amit*[40] (i.e., die, die)." Some six hundred of them defied death that day. History records the death-defying attitude of Hamzah and a few others. Sibā' bin 'Abdul-'Uzza[41] came up challenging the Muslims for a duel. Hamzah went forward and slew him. He slew a few others also,[42] such as 'Uthman bin Abu Talhah, and Abu Shaybah who was another standard-bearer of the pagans.

Wahshi - an Ethopian slave - had entered into a contract with his master Jubayr bin Mut'im to the effect that he would be freed if he managed to kill Hamzah - in revenge of his uncle Tu'aymah bin 'Adi whom Hamzah had killed at Badr. Wahshi concealed himself behind a rock waiting for Hamzah to fall on line. When he came on line, he threw a powerful spear at him and killed him treacherously.[43]

Wāqidi has a different version. He reported Wahshi as saying that when he was sure Hamzah was dead, "I remembered Hind, the

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was the Prophet's sword not fit for killing a woman therewith. Some reports have recorded a piece of poetry also that he was singing as he took the sword. It said,

I am the one from whom my friend took the promise
While we were at the foot of the mountain at the palm grove
That I shall never be at the rear of the army
But rather, strike with Allāh's and His Messenger's sword.

See Bākiri: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, p. 109.

[40] *Al-Mustadrak* (2/107-108) of Hākim who declared it authentic although Dhahabi was uncommitted; *Abu Dāwud* (3/74); the *Musnad* of Ahmad (4/46), Dārimi: *Sunan* (2/219) in brief; *Ibn Hishām* without a chain; and *Al-Waqidi* (1/234). Said the two redactors of *Ibn Hishām*: "The chains of Ahmad, Abu Dāwud and Hākim are authentic despite the presence of 'Ikrimah; but his narration is from Iyās Sālih, and is strengthened by the report of Abul-'Umays, he from Iyās, as in Hākim. The report meets with the conditions of Muslim. It is also in Dārimi and the report could be reliable."

[41] Mentioned by Bukhāri in a long *Hadith* of Wahshi regarding the killing of Hamzah - *Al-Fath* (15/247/4072) and *Al-Waqidi* (1/308).

[42] See *Al-Wāqidi* (1/307).

[43] Being part of a long *Hadith* of Wahshi in connection with Hamzah's killing as in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/245-49/H. 4072). The story was also reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/59-60) and Ibn Ishāq, who has the same chain as that of Bukhāri—*Ibn Hishām* (3/102-105).

daughter of 'Utbah and what misfortune she had been struck with. So when his companions moved away, having lost hope of his revival, I went up to the body, slit open the chest, pulled out his heart and went back to Hind. I asked her, 'What if I kill your father's killer?' She said, 'My booty.' I said, 'Here! This is Hamzah's heart.' She chewed it but spat it out. I don't know if she couldn't swallow it or because it was unpalatable. She removed her garments and jewelry and gave them to me and added, 'When we return to Makkah, you shall have another ten dinar.' Then she asked me to show his body. I took her there. She severed his genital organs, his nose and ears, and made necklace, bracelet and anklet out of them wearing them on until she arrived at Makkah. She also carried a piece of his heart with her."

Mus'ab bin 'Umayr fought relentlessly until he was martyred. 'Ali picked up the standard after his fall.[44] Those Muslims who had expressed their desire at Madinah to fight, proved themselves true. They brought down every standard-bearer until the pagans left them on the ground: no one courageous enough to pick them up.[45] Thus, the Muslims secured an upper hand in the first round of the battle. The Qur'ān was referring to this when it revealed,

﴿وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُۥٓ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِۦ﴾

"Allāh made true His promise when you were cutting them down by His leave."[46, 47]

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[44] Ibn Khayyāt in the *Tārikh*, p. 67 through a *Mursal* chain stopping at Ibn Musaiyab. The report is strong enough.

[45] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/112).

[46] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 152.

[47] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/225/H. 3043). Also see the reports that are in Tabari's *Tafsir*, in explanation of this Verse (77/281-288/the reports from 8004-8011/Shākir) especially the report numbered 8008; Ibn Kathir in the *Tafsir* (2/114-115) being a narration of Imam Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (1/287, 288) which happens to be a narrative of Ibn 'Abbās. Ibn Kathir noted: "This is a strange report with a strange context. It happens to be a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Ibn 'Abbās who himself did not participate, nor did his father. The *Hadith* was also reported by *Al-Hākim*

When the pagans lost their ground, with their women lifting their skirts and exposing their calves and anklets as they ran, Ibn Jubayr's companions on the hilltop began to say, "Spoils of war, O men! Your companions have overcome. What are you now waiting for?" 'Abdullah bin Jubayr reminded them: "Have you forgotten the Prophet's instruction?" They said, "By Allāh. We will join the rest and collect the booty." And they went after it.

This was a chance that Khālid bin Walid was waiting for. He thought that if he could come from the rear of the Muslim position, the pagans could be persuaded to turn back and fight[48] the encircled Muslims. Accordingly, as he turned around the hill with his men and came from the rear, the Muslims got caught in between. Such confusion ensued that they killed their own man Yamān, Hudhayfah's father despite the fact that he was shouting that it was his father. He cried out in desperation, "O slaves of Allāh, this is my father." But when they had killed him, he only said, "May Allāh forgive you."[49] Many Muslims were slain. Meanwhile, the Prophet ﷺ disappeared from the sight and the

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(2/296) coming from Abu Nadr Faqih. Similarly it was reported by Ibn Abu Hātim and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* some of its parts are present in *Sahih* and other works." Ibn Kathir then brought in supporting evidences to demonstrate the authenticity of the present narrative: both in his *Tafsir* as well as *Tārikh* (4/29, and the following pages). Sā'āti said in *Fathul-Rabbāni* (21/55), "Hākim traced it, as well as Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir*. Hākim treated it authentic and Dhahabi agreed with him.." Haythami also documented it saying, "Ahmad recorded it. Its chain has 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu Zinād who has been treated reliable despite his weakness. See the report in Ibn Sa'd (2/41), where it is Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

48 A Disconnected (*Mursal*) narration of Suddi. Tabari mentioned it in his *Tafsir* (7/281-282/H. 8004/Shākir), which Ibn Ishāq reported through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/112). He did not mention that the person who turned around was Khālid himself.

49 *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (15/239-240/H. 4065); *Al-Hākim* (3/202) that declared it *Sahih* and Dhahabi approved it; *Musnad Ahmad* (4/209-211/Shākir). Shākir declared the report authentic. He also quoted the story of Yamān staying away with his children at the start in the forts, then his joining the Prophet ﷺ and getting killed. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Ishaq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/127-128).

word spread that he was killed.[50]

With that the Muslims began to flee the battlefield. Some of them sat down, away from the field: not knowing what to do.[51] A few stood their ground in the battlefield and encouraged others to fight on and achieve martyrdom. One of them was Anas bin Nadr who was eager to compensate his absence at Badr. When he observed some of the Muslims sitting by he said, "Paradise, by the Lord of Nadr. I can feel its smell coming from the Uhud side." When the battle was over and he was identified, some eighty and odd wounds were found on his body. It was only his sister who could identify him which she did with the help of his finger tips. After the battle, the Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd bin Thābit to look for him. When he found him, he was in his final moments. He replied to the greeting and said, "I can feel the smell of Paradise from the Uhud side. Tell my people, the *Ansār*, that they'll have no excuse if they failed to protect the Prophet, so long as there is anyone left in them batting an eyelid."[52] With that his eyes filled with tears. Allāh ﷻ revealed in praise of him and others of his kind,

﴿مِّنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ رِجَالٌ صَدَقُوا۟ مَا عَـٰهَدُوا۟ ٱللَّهَ عَلَيْهِ ۖ فَمِنْهُم مَّن قَضَىٰ نَحْبَهُۥ وَمِنْهُم مَّن يَنتَظِرُ ۖ وَمَا بَدَّلُوا۟ تَبْدِيلًا﴾

"Among the believers are men who kept true the promise they made to Allāh. So, there are some who have completed their term while there are others who are waiting—and they did not change by the least."[53, 54]

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50 See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/226) who ascribed it to Tabari being a report of Suddi. It was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/112), who reported it through other chains too.

51 See: Ibn Ishāq with a *Sahih-Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/120), *Al-Wāqidi* (2/280), the *Tārikh* of Tabari (2/517) and the *Tafsir* of Tabari (7/256).

52 Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a trustworthy chain as in *Majma'ul-Bahrayn* (2/239), *Sharhul-Mawāhib* (2/44). As for his recognition by his sister with the help of finger tips, this was reported by Ibn Ishāq as in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (3/120), through an Acceptable (*Maqbul*) chain, being a report of Anas bin Mālik.

53 *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 23.

54 *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/283/H. 2805) and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan*

Those who fled paid no attention to anyone despite the Prophet's call to stay with him. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿إِذْ تُصْعِدُونَ وَلَا تَلْوُۥنَ عَلَىٰٓ أَحَدٍ وَٱلرَّسُولُ يَدْعُوكُمْ فِىٓ أُخْرَىٰكُمْ﴾

"When you were climbing (the hills) and turned to no one while the Messenger was calling you from your rear."[55]

However, Allāh (ﷻ) forgave those who fled. He said,

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ تَوَلَّوْا۟ مِنكُمْ يَوْمَ ٱلْتَقَى ٱلْجَمْعَانِ إِنَّمَا ٱسْتَزَلَّهُمُ ٱلشَّيْطَٰنُ بِبَعْضِ مَا كَسَبُوا۟ ۖ وَلَقَدْ عَفَا ٱللَّهُ عَنْهُمْ ۗ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٌ حَلِيمٌ﴾

"Those who turned away from you the day the two groups clashed, surely it was Satan who made them to slip because of some of what they had earned. However, Allāh forgave them. Surely, Allāh is Most Forgiving, Most Kind."[56]

Ibn Jawzi[57] has said that one of the two reasons for their fleeing was the spread of the rumor that the Prophet ﷺ was dead.

The first to learn that the Prophet ﷺ was alive was Ka'b bin Mālik. He shouted out the good news. But the Prophet ﷺ stopped him, so that the pagans wouldn't know.[58]

Some of the pagans were able to reach up to the Prophet ﷺ to attack him. There were seven of the *Ansār* and two of the Quraysh around him. He said, "Who will spurn their attacks and be my

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chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/120), and *As-Sirat*, p. 230. For causes leading to the revelation of this Verse see *Al-Hākim* (3/200) who treated it reliable and Dhahabi agreed with him.

[55] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 153. See *At-Tabari* for different reports that were mentioned in its explanation (7/301-302).

[56] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 155. The verifiers of *Zādul-Masir* (1/483) mentioned that Imam Ahmad, Abu Ya'la, Tabari and Bazzār reported the *Hadith* through a *Hasan* chain and mentioned that the Verse was revealed in connection with those who fled the battle of Uhud.

[57] *Zādul-Masir* by Ibn Jawzi (1/483).

[58] Being a *Hadith* reported by *Al-Hākim* (3/201) which he declared authentic with Dhahabi agreeing with him. Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/112):

companion in Paradise?" One after another all the seven of the *Ansār* responded and fought until they were martyred. The Prophet ﷺ turned to his two Quraysh Companions and remarked, "We didn't do justice to our companions."[59]

Of those who fought bravely in defense of the Prophet ﷺ was Talhah bin 'Ubaydullah ؓ. He fought until his arm with which he shielded the Prophet ﷺ was paralyzed.[60] Another was Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās ؓ to whom the Prophet ﷺ,would hand over an arrow and say, "Shoot, Sa'd. May my parents be sacrificed for you." The Prophet ﷺ never named his father and mother together for anyone except Sa'd bin Mālik bin Abu Waqqās, as 'Ali ؓ reported, and as Sa'd said about himself. Another who fought well was Abu Talhah Ansāri ؓ. He was a skilled archer. When the Prophet ﷺ passed by someone who had an arrow, he would tell him, "Give it to Abu Talhah." When the Prophet ﷺ tried to raise his head over theirs to get a look at the fighters, Abu Talhah would say, "By my parents, don't raise your head, O Messenger of Allāh, lest an arrow strikes you. May I offer my neck for your neck."[61] Impressed by Abu Talhah's fighting ability, the Prophet ﷺ said, "Abu Talhah is heavier than a group of people upon the pagans." Another person

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"Narrated by Tabarāni in *Al-Awsat* and *Al-Kabir*, with the narrators of *Al-Awsat* being reliable. Ibn Sa'd (2/46) also reported it as a Discontinuous (*Mursal*) report quoting it through Zuhri (2/46). Also Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dala'il* (2482) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) and *Hasan* attribution, being a report of Ibn Ishāq who has a Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/121).

[59] *Muslim* (3/1415/H. 1789).

[60] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/229/H. 3724). He it is who crouched down for the Prophet ﷺ to lift himself up to a rock on the mountain when the disbelievers surrounded them in Uhud. The Prophet ﷺ said: "It became obligatory for Talhah," i.e., Paradise. Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/126). The Prophet ﷺ remarked: "Whoever wishes to see a martyr walking on the earth, may see Talhah bin 'Ubaydullah." Albāni commented in his *Silsilatul-Ahādithus-Sahihah* (2/32): "Isfahāni has preserved it through a reliable chain, so judged for its supporting evidences..."

[61] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/233-236/H. 4057) and (14/230/H. 3725).

who fought courageously[62] was Abu Dujānah ﷺ. He was shielding the Prophet ﷺ with his back. Arrows were hitting him in large numbers while he remained leaning over the Prophet ﷺ.[63]

It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ himself shot so many arrows that his bow broke down. Qatādah bin Nu'mān took it from him and kept it for himself. That day Qatādah was hit in the eye. The eyeball fell out and hung on his cheek. The Prophet ﷺ returned it to the socket, and it became whole again.[64]

In these difficult conditions 'Umārah's mother Nusaybah bint Ka'b Māziniyah joined the band of those who were defending the

[62] Reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/589) through narrators that are trustworthy. See also *Al-Wāqidi* (1/243) whose words are: "Abu Talhah's voice in an army is better than forty men."

[63] Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/119).

[64] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/119) that stops at 'Ali bin 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah thus it is discontinuous. Abu Nu'aym completed the chain in *Dalā'il* (2/483-484/H. 416) through this chain as well as another (2/484-417). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (8/291-298), "Tabarāni and Abu Ya'la have documented it. However, Tabarāni's chain has someone whom I do not know. Abu Ya'la's chain has 'Abdul-Hamid Hammāni who was weak." Haythami also said in *Al-Majma'* (6/113) speaking of Abu Nu'aym's (417), "There is someone in the chain whom I do not know." The report in *Musnad Abu Ya'la* is in (3/120/H. 1549). Bayhaqi reported it in *Dalā'il* (3/251-253) both truncated as well as continuous. The truncated report says it happened on Sunday (3/252). The continuous reports are three. They say it was the day of Badr (3/251, 252, 100). In one of them occurs Hammāni (3/1000) who was weak. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (3/217): "It was reported by Dāraqutni, Ibn Shāhin and Baghawi through Qatādah, and Dāraqutni and Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il*." Ibn Athir mentioned in *Usdul-Ghābah* (4/195) through 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān, who had been abandoned. Haythami said in *Majma'* (8/292), "Abu Ya'la recorded it through 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān who was weak." And *Al-Wāqidi* (1/242) reported it, but Wada'i did not mention this story in the *Musnad Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* which means he was not sure of the reliability

I might point out that all these reports speak of a basis for the story in question. See Qatādah bin Nu'mān's biography in *Al-Isti'āb* (3/248) and *Al-Isābah* (3/255/no. 7076).

Prophet ﷺ until she was struck by Ibn Qami'ah in the shoulder.[65] It left a deep mark there.

The Prophet ﷺ himself fought very hard that day and received several injuries. His teeth broke, the face was cut, and blood flowed down. He began to wipe it and say, "How can a people succeed if they injure a Prophet who invites them to Islam?" Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿لَيْسَ لَكَ مِنَ ٱلْأَمْرِ شَيْءٌ أَوْ يَتُوبَ عَلَيْهِمْ أَوْ يُعَذِّبَهُمْ فَإِنَّهُمْ ظَٰلِمُونَ﴾

"You have no say in the affair. (Allāh may) turn to them (in mercy) or He may punish them for they are transgressors."[66,67]

The Prophet ﷺ then said, hoping for their Islam, "O my Lord, forgive my people, they are ignorant."[68] According to the report in *Al-Bukhari*,[69] the Prophet's teeth broke, face was injured, and the skin on his head split.

When he received these injuries from the pagans he remarked, "Allāh's anger is evoked against a people who did this to their Prophet—pointing to his teeth. And Allāh's anger is evoked against a man who killed His Prophet in the way of Allāh. Allāh's anger is evoked against a people who bloodied the face of Allāh's Prophet."[70] Fātimah ﷺ washed his blood and 'Ali ﷺ bandaged his

[65] *Ibn Hishām*, through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain (3/118); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/268-269) and *Ibn Sa'd* (8/412-415) through Wāqidi.

[66] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 128.

[67] *Muslim* (3/1417/H. 1791), and *Al-Bukhāri* in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Al-Fath* (15/243/*Maghāzi*). While commenting on it, Ibn Hajar mentioned the names of the *Hadith* scholars who narrated the whole chain as also *At-Tirmidhi* (8/184/*Tafsir*/H. 3005) who said that it was Good & Sound (*Hasan-Sahih*). Albāni too thought it was reliable. See *Sahih* of Tirmidhi (3/33/*Tafsir*/H. 3201); and *Sahih* of Ibn Mājah by Albāni (2/372/H. 4027) remarking that it is reliable. Also *Ahmad* (3/99, 179, 206, 253, 288). Ibn Ishāq reported a part of it without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/144). Also *Ibn Hishām* (3/115) through a *Munqati'* chain in which falls Rubayh who was acceptable, however, he did not mention the Verse.

[68] *Muslim* (3/1417/H. 1791).

[69] *Al-Fath* (15/152/H. 4073-4075).

[70] It was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/124)

wounds. When Fātimah found that blood wouldn't stop, she took some frond, burnt it and pressed it on the wound.[71]

Many heroes emerged in this battle. One of the men asked the Prophet ﷺ, "Tell me, where will I be if I was killed?" He said, "In Paradise." He threw away some dates that he had in his hands, fought and attained martyrdom.[72]

'Abdullah bin Jahsh ؓ said before the battle: "I beseech (You O Allāh) that we meet the enemy. And when we have met them, they kill me, then they split my stomach and cut my body parts. So that when I meet You, You ask me, 'How did this happen?' And I say, 'For your sake.'" It so happened that when he met the enemy and was killed, they did to him what he had desired.[73]

'Amr bin Jamuh participated with his four sons. They had tried to prevent him from participating because he was lame. But when he insisted, the Prophet ﷺ advised his sons to let him remain if he was after martyrdom. He asked the Prophet ﷺ, "Do you think if I am killed today, I'll be in Paradise walking about with my lame foot?" When he replied in a yes he said, "By Him Who sent you, I shall walk about in Paradise today with my lame foot." So he fought until he achieved his objective.[74]

And, despite the fact that the Prophet ﷺ had allowed the aged to stay back, Yamān and Thābit bin Waqsh refused to sit back with the children at Madinah and decided on participating in the battle to

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mentioned apart of this narration whose words are: "Allāh's anger was provoked by those who bloodied His Prophet's face."

[71] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/251-252/H. 4075).

[72] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/230/H. 4046).

[73] Hākim reported it (3/199) being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) tradition of Sa'eed bin Musaiyab and remarking, "This report is on the conditions of the *Shaykhayn*, if not for the missing name of the Companion." Dhahabi said: "It is *Mursal* but *Sahih*."

[74] Ibn Mubārak: *Kitabul-Jihād*, p. 69, being a *Mursal* report of Ikrimah; Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/132) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/299) in brief coming through Ibn Ishāq whose transmitters are reliable except for Yahya bin Nadr Ansāri, who in any case was trustworthy as stated in *Al-Majma'* (9/315). Thus the tradition is authentic through Ahmad's source.

achieve martyrdom. Thābit ؓ was killed by the pagans while Yamān ؓ was killed by mistake by the Muslims. The Prophet ﷺ promised to pay the blood money but his son Hudhayfah refused to accept it, which increased his status in the eyes of the Prophet ﷺ.[75]

Hanzalah bin Abu 'Āmir was a newly married man on the day of the clash. When he heard the call, he hurried up without finding time for a wash. He fought until he achieved martyrdom. When the Prophet ﷺ saw his body he remarked, "Your companion is being given a wash by the angels." Thereafter he was known as one given wash by the angels, or, simply, "The washed one."[76]

So also, Mukhayriq fought by the side of the Prophet ﷺ until he was killed. He was a good example for those Jews who had embraced Islam. He had said when he left for the battlefield, "If I am killed, my property will go to Muhammad. Let him deal with it the way he wishes."[77] The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Mukhayriq was the best of the Jews."[78]

Usayrim of Banu 'Abdul-Ashhal, whose name was 'Amr bin Uqaysh, was dillydally in Islam. But, by Uhud he became a sincere Muslim, joined the Prophet ﷺ, fought and obtained martyrdom. He hadn't offered a single prayer in Islam.[79]

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[75] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/127), and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/202) declaring it trustworthy with Dhahabi agreeing with it; *Al-Wāqidi* (1/232).

[76] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/107-108); *Al-Hākim* (3/204) however gave the whole chain, and treated it as *Sahih* with which view Dhahabi agreed. Albāni counted it as *Hasan* in his *Silsilatul-Ahādithus-Sahihah* (4/36/no. 326). It comes through Ibn Ishāq.

[77] Reported by Ibn Ishāq in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) form-*Ibn Hishām* (3/129).

[78] Reported by Ibn Ishāq in complete form—*Ibn Hishām* (3/131); Ibn Sa'd (1/501) through Wāqidi; and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/263). Ibn Hajar said in *Isābah* (3/393), "Mukhayriq Nadari Israeli was of the Banu Nadir. Wāqidi mentioned that he embraced Islam and died a martyr in Uhud. Wāqidi and Balādhuri also added that some have thought that he was of the Banu Qaynuqa'."

[79] Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/131) - see al *Al-Isābah* (2/519), - and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/43/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2537) and *Al-Hākim* (3/28) who considered it *Sahih* with which Dhahabi agreed.

Although Hassān bin Thābit could not participate in the *Jihād* with the sword, neither in this battle nor in others, he did not miss to fight for the Muslims with his effective poetry as his weapon. He encouraged the Muslims not only in this battle, but in many others.

Hassān as such was not a coward. Kalbi[80] has stated that cowardice was not Hassān's quality. In fact, he was a courageous man. It was a disability that had struck him which prevented him from entering the battlefields.[81] His arm-vein had been severed and so he was incapable of striking with a sword. This information helps us explain his attitude during later wars. Tabrāni[82] has it that on the day of Uhud, Hassān was with the children on a fort wall. A Jew came and tried to climb the wall. Safiyyah bint 'Abdul-Muttalib asked him to kill the man. He replied, "If I didn't suffer the disability, I would be with the Prophet at this moment." So Safiyyah killed him and asked Hassān to throw the man's head down the fort to the Jews waiting there. Hassān begged excuse of that too and so Safiyyah did it herself. The Jews at the foot dispersed under the impression that there were men on top guarding the fort.

Balādhuri[83] and Ya'qubi[84] have confirmed that this incident took place at the time of Uhud although Ibn Ishāq[85] said it happened during the Khandaq expedition.

Hassān-Safiyyah story is not well documented. But what led us to accept the reports of Wāqidi and Kalbi is that Hassān used to encourage the fighters with his poetry both before and after Islam.

[80] Ibn 'Asākir quoted it from him in his *Tārikh Dimashq* (4/140).

[81] Isfahāni took it from him for his *Aghāni* (4/16).

[82] Haythami: *Al-Majma'* (6/114). In its chain falls Ja'far bin Zubayr who was abandoned because he was a liar, fabricator and narrator of strange reports. See *Mizānul-I'tidāl* (1/406). Tabarāni also recorded it, through 'Urwah through a weak chain (*Al-Majma'* 6/134), as did Abu Ya'la in his *Musnad* (1/84). Haythami quoted it from him in *Al-Majma'* (6/134) declaring its chain unreliable. To Zurqāni however it was authentic: *Al-Mawāhib* (2/11) despite the presence of Ja'far bin Zubayr. The *Hadith* was also reported by Bazzār in *Al-Kashf* (2/223-234) with Ḥaythami declaring it weak.

[83] *Ansābul-Ashrāf* (1/324).

[84] His *Tārikh* (2/48).

[85] *Ibn Hishām* (3/317-319) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

But no one ever taunted him for his cowardice. If what Tabarāni states is true then, surely, many poets would have aimed their satires and lampoons at him, especially when Hassān was making fun of those who had fled battlefields out of cowardice. Add to this the fact that Hassān was too old to take active part in a battle. This is confirmed by Ibn Hishām.[86] Ibn 'Abdul-Barr ﷺ[87] said, explaining Hassān's absence from several battles, "because of that his son would have been taunted since he also used to string satires against many poets including Najāshi, the ruler of Habashah."

Of those who fought on the day of Uhud, but not intending *Jihād*, rather, intending to protect his kinsfolk, was Quzman. He killed no less that seven or eight pagans. But the Prophet ﷺ had said about him, "He belongs to the Fire." On the day of Uhud when he received several injuries, he could not bear them and committed suicide.[88] This proved to be a proof of the Prophet's authenticity and the basis for the rule that intention is of prime importance in *Jihād*.

Some Muslim women also went into the battlefield. They were to supply water to the thirsty. Some of those that have been named

[86] For their discussion and that of Khushani, see *Ibn Hishām* (3/318), and Suhayli in *Rawdah* (3/281), as well as Bākiri in his thesis: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, pp. 260-264.

[87] *Ad-Durar*, p. 186.

[88] His story is reported by Ibn Ishāq, via a chain broken off—*Ibn Hishām* (3/129) which Abu Ya'la completed through another route via a trustworthy chain as mentioned by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/116), but he didn't name the person. It tells us that the intention is the basis. It was also reported in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/48-49/H. 4202) but did not name the person in both the chains. In fact, through the first chain he did not even name the campaign while mentioning in the second that it was Khayber. *Muslim* (1/105-106/H. 111) also reported through two routes (1/105-106/H. 111). In the first, he mentioned that the campaign was that of Hunayn, while remaining silent about the campaign in the second. In both he did not mention the person. Ahmad recorded it in the *Musnad* (4/135) reporting that it was the Khayber campaign. Wāqidi too reported the story (1/263) as did Ibn Ishāq who gave the name as Quzmān. We agree with Bākiri (p. 249) that there is no contradiction between the narratives as reconciliation is possible by assuming that it occurred several times, Allāh knows best.

are: 'Umm 'Amārah,[89] Hamnāh bin Jahsh Asadiyyah,[90] Umm Sulayt,[91] Umm Sulaym and 'Āishah, the Prophet's wife.[92]

Muslim has reported[93] that Umm Sulaym and other women participated in several battles along with the Prophet ﷺ to water the thirsty and bandage the wounded.

Allāh (ﷻ) sent Jibril and Mikā'il to defend the Prophet[94] on the day of Uhud. Allāh (ﷻ) had promised the believers that if they stayed firm and the enemy showed up on a sudden, He would help them with angels. However, when they failed to demonstrate patience,[95] Allāh (ﷻ) also withheld the angels. Allāh said,

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[89] *Ibn Hishām* reported her story in connection with the day of Uhud through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain (3/118); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/268-269) and *Ibn Sa'd* (8/412-415) through Wāqidi.

[90] Tabarāni documented through a *Hasan* chain of transmission as judged by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (9/292). Several reports, although all weak, lead us to believe that she was not present during the battle, and that when she encountered the people who had returned from the battle, and was told of the death of her brother 'Abdullah and uncle Hamzah, she sought refuge in Allāh and His forgiveness for them. But when she was told about the death of her husband Mus'ab, she shrieked and broke into a wail. The Prophet ﷺ then remarked that "For a woman, a husband has a special place." The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Ishāq without a chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/144); *Ibn Mājah* (1/507/The Book of Funerals) in which falls 'Abdullah 'Umari who was considered weak. Hamnah was the sister of Zaynab bint Jahsh ؓ, the Mother of the Believers.

[91] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/245/H. 4071) which says that she used to go about with a water pitcher on the day of Uhud. She was the mother of Abu Sa'eed Khudri, a wife of Abu Sulayt who died before her before *Hijrah*; then Mālik bin Sinān Khudri married her and she gave birth to Abu Sa'eed. This is stated by Ibn Hajar in the explanation of the tradition. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/31-32/H. 2880-2883).

[92] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/238-39/H. 4064), who also reported it in The Book of *Jihād*, the number of the *Hadith* being 2880; and *Muslim* (3/1443/H. 1811) where it is mentioned that they used to carry the waterskins on their backs to pour water into the mouths of the fighters.

[93] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1443/H. 1810).

[94] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/234-235/H. 4045) he did not name the two angels, but rather, he said two men. Muslim named them in his narration (4/1802/H. 2306).

[95] See 'Urjun: *Muhammad Rasulullah* ﷺ (3/395 and the following pages), and 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 79.

﴿إِذْ تَقُولُ لِلْمُؤْمِنِينَ أَلَن يَكْفِيَكُمْ أَن يُمِدَّكُمْ رَبُّكُم بِثَلَٰثَةِ ءَالَٰفٍ مِّنَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ مُنزَلِينَ ﴿١٢٤﴾ بَلَىٰٓ ۚ إِن تَصْبِرُوا۟ وَتَتَّقُوا۟ وَيَأْتُوكُم مِّن فَوْرِهِمْ هَٰذَا يُمْدِدْكُمْ رَبُّكُم بِخَمْسَةِ ءَالَٰفٍ مِّنَ ٱلْمَلَٰٓئِكَةِ مُسَوِّمِينَ﴾

"When you were saying to the believers, 'Isn't it enough that your Lord should extend help with three thousand angels, coming down. Indeed, if you stayed firm and feared Allāh, and they came down on a sudden, your Lord will extend help with five thousand angels, marked (for distinction)."[96, 97]

Allāh (ﷻ) sent down slumber on the believers at Uhud. They were in great distress over what the Prophet ﷺ and their brothers had been through. They dozed off for a short moment and when they were themselves again, they felt refreshed and revived their efforts in defense of the Prophet ﷺ. Abu Talhah Ansāri ؓ was one of those who were overcome by slumber. His sword would fall off his hand and he would reaffirm his grip.[98] Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿ثُمَّ أَنزَلَ عَلَيْكُم مِّنۢ بَعْدِ ٱلْغَمِّ أَمَنَةً نُّعَاسًا يَغْشَىٰ طَآئِفَةً مِّنكُمْ ۖ وَطَآئِفَةٌ . . .﴾

"Then He sent down, after your grief, peace: slumber that was overcoming some of you."

As for the hypocrites, whether those who left with Ibn Ubaiy or remained with the main body of Muslims, the Verse quoted above spoke of them also. It said,

﴿طَآئِفَةً مِّنكُمْ ۖ وَطَآئِفَةٌ قَدْ أَهَمَّتْهُمْ أَنفُسُهُمْ يَظُنُّونَ بِٱللَّهِ غَيْرَ ٱلْحَقِّ ظَنَّ ٱلْجَٰهِلِيَّةِ ۖ يَقُولُونَ هَل لَّنَا مِنَ ٱلْأَمْرِ مِن شَىْءٍ ۗ قُلْ إِنَّ ٱلْأَمْرَ كُلَّهُۥ لِلَّهِ ۗ يُخْفُونَ

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[96] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 124, 125.

[97] See the *Tafsir* of this Verse in *At-Tabari* (7/137-90). And, what we have presented is the preferred opinion of Tabari and others, although a lot of discussion has taken place over the issue. Anyone seeking details may refer Tabari or 'Urjun.

[98] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/242/H. 4068).

فِىٓ أَنفُسِهِم مَّا لَا يُبْدُونَ لَكَ ۖ يَقُولُونَ لَوْ كَانَ لَنَا مِنَ ٱلْأَمْرِ شَىْءٌ مَّا قُتِلْنَا هَـٰهُنَا ۗ﴾

"And a group (of men) were there, occupied with concerns of their own, they were imagining things of the pre-Islamic days, saying, 'Do we have any say in the affair?' Say, 'The affair – all of it – is for Allāh alone.' They were concealing in their hearts what they were not revealing to you saying, 'If we had any say in the affair, we wouldn't have been killed here.'"[99]

The pagans made several attempts at the life of the Prophet ﷺ. But Allāh (ﷻ) saved him from them. It is reported that Ubaiy bin Khalaf used to say in Makkah that one day he would kill him. When the Prophet ﷺ had heard of it he had remarked, "Rather, I'll kill him, Allāh willing."[100]

He encountered the Prophet ﷺ in a valley on the day of Uhud battle and cried out, "Muhammad. I shall not be alive if you are alive." One of those around the Prophet ﷺ asked him, "Should not one of us finish off this man?" The Prophet ﷺ said, "Let him alone." When he came closer, the Prophet ﷺ took a javelin from Harith bin Simmah, aimed at him and threw it. It missed him narrowly, scratching him in the neck as it went. But he felt the impact and shook on his horse several times.[101] Then he sped away. The wound began to bleed. He was saying, "By God. Muhammad killed me."

[99] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 154. See the *Tafsir* of this Verse and the authentic relevant reports in *Tafsir* of Tabari (7/315-323); Ibn Hajar's explanation of the *Hadith*, and Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (2/124-126).

[100] Ibn Ishāq, through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/122); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/251) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/46) via a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain stopping at Sa'eed bin Musaiyab. Wāhidi mentioned the complete chain in *Asbābun-Nuzul* (p. 56.) See also *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (3/258-59) whose chain stops at 'Urwah. Further, Ibn Lahiy'ah falls in this chain whose reports are *Hasan*, as well as a *Mursal* report of Musa bin 'Uqbah, he through Zuhri and he through Sa'eed bin Musaiyab (3/211-212). The reports that stop at Sa'eed bin Musaiyab are considered strong enough. See also Tabari in his *Tafsir* (7/255) whose report stops at Suddi.

[101] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report – *Ibn Hishām* (3/121-122).

His people tried to console him by reminding that it was after all a minor injury. But he reminded them of what the Prophet ﷺ had told him. He said, "By God. If he spat on me I would die." He died at a place called Sarif during the return journey.[102] This was of course one of the signs of the authenticity of the Prophet ﷺ.

With the Companions showing great courage in the defense of the Prophet ﷺ, laying their lives for him, the efforts of the pagans to kill him went awry. Abu Sufyān gave up but promised that they would meet in another battle the coming year. The Prophet ﷺ accepted the challenge.[103]

It is also reported that Abu Sufyān arrived at the foot of the hill the Muslims were occupying and cried out, "Is Muhammad with you?" The Prophet ﷺ told them not to reply. He asked, "Is Ibn Abu Quhāfah (Abu Bakr) with you?" The Prophet ﷺ told them, "Don't answer." Abu Sufyān asked, "Is 'Umar bin Khattāb with you?" Then he added, "It seems they are dead. If they were alive they'd have answered." 'Umar ﷺ could not hold his peace, he cried out, "You have spoken a lie, O enemy of Allāh. Allāh has preserved us for your grief." Abu Sufyān said, "Hubal be exalted." The Prophet ﷺ told them, "Answer him." They asked, "How shall we answer him?" He said, "Say, 'Allāh is the Exalted, Most Honored.'" Abu Sufyān said, "We have 'Uzza whereas you have no 'Uzza." The Prophet ﷺ said, "Answer him." They asked, "How shall we answer him?" He said, "Tell him, 'Allāh is our Protector whereas you have no protector.'" Abu Sufyān said, "Today was the reply to the day of Badr. War has its ups and downs. You will find some people with their noses and ears cut. I didn't order that. But it doesn't hurt me either."[104] According to a report in Ahmad[105] and Ibn Ishāq,[106] 'Umar said, "We are not equal. Our dead are in Paradise, but yours in the Fire."

[102] Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/122-123).

[103] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/136), and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/297).

[104] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/227-228/H. 4043).

[105] *Al-Musnad* (4/209, 6/181) through a *Hasan* chain.

[106] *Ibn Hishām* (3/136) without a chain.

When the pagans had retreated after what they had inflicted on the Muslims, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Ali bin Abu Tālib behind them saying, "Follow them and see what they do. If they spare their horses and ride the camels it would mean they would be heading for Makkah; but if they ride the horses and drive along the camels, it would mean they are heading for Madinah. By Him in Whose Hand is my life, if they intend Madinah, I'll follow them, and then we shall punish them." 'Ali followed them and reported that they had mounted their camels and were driving along their horses, meaning, they were heading for Makkah.[107]

The battle left seventy Muslims[108] and twenty-two pagans dead.[109]

The Prophet ﷺ went in search of Hamzah ﷺ and found him in the middle of the valley. His abdomen had been ripped open, liver pulled out and his nose and ears severed.[110] He remarked, "If not for Safiyyah's grief, I'd leave him there for the stomachs of the wild beasts and vultures. If I get better of the Quraysh in one of the encounters I will do the same thing to thirty of them." The Muslims were also greatly moved by the Prophet's grief and vowed, "If Allāh grants us victory over them one of these days, we shall disfigure their corpses in a manner the Arabs never heard of before."[111] But

[107] Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/136-137); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/298); and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/282) reporting with a chain that stops at 'Urwah. Further, there falls in the chain Ibn Lahiy'ah whose reports are Good (*Hasan*). Wāqidi and Bayhaqi report that the one sent by the Prophet ﷺ for reconnaissance was Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās. Dr. 'Umari, however supported the opinion of Ibn Ishāq—see *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 81.

[108] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/226/H. 4043). It is mentioned through a report without a chain, with Ibn Ishaq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/179) that they were sixty-five men. He mentioned their names, Ibn Hishām completed the naming to seventy (3/179-180). Wāqidi (1/200) thought they were seventy-four. See Bākiri, pp. 367-369.

[109] Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/182). Wāqidi (1/307) said twenty-seven, while Ibn Sa'd (2/42) said they were twenty-three. See Bākiri, p. 369.

[110] This was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq in a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/138).

[111] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/138-139). It has been reported on the authority of his chain, as

Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿وَإِنْ عَاقَبْتُمْ فَعَاقِبُوا۟ بِمِثْلِ مَا عُوقِبْتُم بِهِۦ ۖ وَلَئِن صَبَرْتُمْ لَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لِّلصَّـٰبِرِينَ...﴾

"If you retaliate, then retaliate in the like manner as you have

well as others, although all weak. See *Ibn Hishām* (3/138-139) footnote of the redactors. This *Hadith* is supported by other narrations like: (a) The *Hadith* of Abu Hurayrah ﷺ which Hākim recorded in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/197); Ibn Sa'd in *At-Tabaqāt* (2/13-14); Bazzār in his *Musnad* (2/326-27); Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (3/156-57/H. 2936); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/288); Wāhidi in *Asbānul-Nuzul* (p. 291) and Ibn 'Adi in *Al-Kāmil*. (4/1381) all of them through Sālih bin Bashir Murri who was considered weak. (b) The *Hadith* of Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ that Ibn Ishāq traced (*Ibn Hishām* (3/140) through a weak chain because of Ibn Ishāq not naming who reported to him. However, the report is authentic through other chains such as one in *At-Tirmidhi* (5/299-300); Ahmad as in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/192-193); Hākim (2/359) which he declared *Sahih* and seconded by Dhahabi. It also gains strength from a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Muhammad bin Ka'b Qurazi, who was very weak, and the one recorded by Ibn Ishāq (*Ibn Hishām* 3/140). This is for two reasons: Not naming the Companion, and for the possibility that his master was Buraydah bin Sufyān who had been abandoned. It also gathers some strength from the *Mursal* report of 'Ata' bin Yasār, who too was very weak. And the one that Ibn Ishāq reported and which Ibn Kathir picked up for his *Tafsir* (2/592). That is because his *Mursal* reports are not authentic. Further, it has an unknown narrator, as Ibn Kathir noted. This kind of report is not useful for scholarly purposes.

The text of the *Hadith* was reported by *At-Tirmidhi* (8/559-560/H. 5136); by 'Abdullah the son of Imam Ahmad in *Az-Zawā'id* (5/135); Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (3/157/H. 2937); Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* (p. 411, H. 1695), and *Al-Hākim* (2/358-359), all of them reporting a narration of Ubaiy bin Ka'b. Tirmidhi said about it: "This is a Good & Unfamiliar (*Hasan-Gharib*) report." However, Hākim declared it authentic and was approved by Dhahabi and Albāni in his *As-Silsilatud-Da'ifah* (2/28-29). In sum, the tradition is *Sahih li Ghayrihi* for the supporting evidences.

Also see the reports concerning Hamzah's disfigurement on the day of Uhud and the revelation of the Verse in this connection at Sa'd bin 'Abdullah Humayd in his *Mukhtasar Talkhisidh-Dhahabi li-Mustadrakil-Hākim* by Ibn Mulaqqin second part at the beginning, being a Master's thesis in manuscript form: The Muhammad bin Sa'ud Islamic University, 1407.

been wronged. But, if you bear it with patience, then, that is better for those who are patient."[112]

So the Prophet ﷺ forgave them and forbid disfiguring of the corpses.[113]

As regards Hamzah's disfigurement, Musa bin 'Uqbah[114] reported that it was Wahshi who had ripped open his abdomen, pulled out the liver for Hind bint 'Utbah. She tried to chew and eat some but couldn't manage it and threw it out.

But Ibn Ishāq[115] reported that it was Hind who tore open Hamzah's abdomen. He adds that she made an anklet and a necklace from the nose and ear pieces severed from the Muslim corpses, wore them on and gave away her own anklet and necklace to Wahshi.

Wāqidi[116] has it that when Wahshi killed Hamzah ﷺ, he carried his liver to Makkah to show it to his master Jubayr bin Mut'im.

Shāmi[117] has produced a report from Wāqidi and Muqrizi to the effect that Wahshi tore open Hamzah's abdomen and took the liver to Hind. She chewed but (couldn't swallow and) threw it out. Then she accompanied him to where Hamzah lay where she cut out some more of it, as well as his nose and ears and made necklace, bracelet and anklet which she wore on until she reached Makkah.

In this way Wāqidi's and Muqrizi's reports can be reconciled with the reports of Ibn 'Uqbah and Ibn Ishāq.

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[112] *Surat An-Nahl*: 126.

[113] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/140). *At-Tirmidhi* (5/299-300) reported following another route and remarked: "This *Hadith* is *Hasan-Gharib*." The *Hadith* was also mentioned by Ahmad in *Al-Musnad – Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (18/192-193); Wāhidi in *Asbābun-Nuzul*, pp. 191-192, and *Al-Hākim* (2/359) a similar report as that of Tirmidhi and Ahmad, which he declared authentic with Dhahabi's approval.

[114] Ibn Kathir mentioned in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/43) without a chain, so it is weak.

[115] *Ibn Hishām* (3/133) through a *Munqati'* chain that stops at his Shaykh Ibn Kaysān, and therefore weak.

[116] See *Al-Maghāzi* (1/332); Wāqidi who was abandoned so his narratives are weak.

[117] See *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (4/321).

As regards the disfigurement of Hamzah's corpse, it is confirmed by reports in *Sahih* collections which lead us to believe that the opening of his abdomen for ripping off his liver, as mentioned by the biographers, has a basis.

History also records the heroism of some Muslim women who responded courageously to their personal losses but expressed joy at finding that the Prophet ﷺ was alive. For example, the Prophet ﷺ and some of his Companions passed by a woman of Banu Dinār.[118] She had lost her husband, brother and father. When they tried to console her she asked, "What happened to the Prophet?" They said, "He is alright. He is, by Allāh's grace well and good." She said, "Let me have a look at him." He was identified for her. When she looked at him she said, "Every misfortune after you is easy to bear."[119]

When Safiyyah, Hamzah's sister wished to see Hamzah's body, the Prophet ﷺ asked Hamzah's son Zubayr to prevent her from the ghastly sight. When she was discouraged she asked, "Why? I have been told that my brother has been disfigured. But that is in the way of Allāh. I shall, Allāh willing, accept it with endurance." When Zubayr informed the Prophet ﷺ of her words, he allowed that she visit Hamzah. So, she went up, saw him, sought Allāh's forgiveness for his sins and supplicated for him. Thereafter he was buried.[120]

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[118] Wāqidi named her as Sumayra' bint Qays – *Al-Maghāzi* (1/292). It can be concluded from the *Hadith* that 'Āishah ﷺ was not present during that battle which is contrary to what is mentioned in the *Sahih* works. However, it is possible to reconcile between the two narratives to say that 'Āishah reached the grounds during the second phase of the war when the Muslims were put on trial.

[119] Ibn Ishāq recorded it *Ibn Hishām* (3/145-146). Bākiri (p. 283) said its chain is *Hasan* based on the Connected (*Muttasil*) chain of Ibn Ishāq in Ibn Kathir's *Tārikh* (4/53), because the chain in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* is Interrupted (*Munqati'*). The two redactors of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* did not discover this narration of Ibn Hishām and so declared the report weak.

[120] Reported by Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (3/141-142). Ahmad too reported in nearabout words in his *Musnad* (1/165). See *Kashful-Astār* (2/328); Abu Ya'la's *Musnad* (2/45-46); Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/289-290) which the two redactors of *Sirat Ibn Hishām* thought authentic. It gives the additional information that when she came, she had two pieces of cloth to enshroud Hamzah ﷺ with. But when they found an *Ansāri* next to Hamzah, similarly treated, then the Prophet ﷺ disapproved that Hamzah be enshrouded but not the *Ansāri* and

Bukhāri[121] and Abu Dāwud[122] have preserved reports that the Prophet ﷺ buried two men together. He would ask, "Which of them knew more of the Qur'ān?" and then place that person's body first. He also said that he would bear witness for them on the Day of Judgement. The martyrs were buried with their blood, and without the customary funeral prayers. In some cases he got three buried in one grave.[123] He also ordered that they be buried where they had fallen so that those whose bodies had been taken to Madinah were brought back.[124]

After the burying was over, the Prophet ﷺ arranged his Companions in rows, said praises to his Lord and then supplicated to Him that He bestow on them the best of rewards. He also prayed for the destruction of the disbelievers.[125]

He had himself wished before the battle that he die along with those who attain martyrdom and lost no opportunity to praise the gallantry of those who did.[126] When he heard 'Ali ؓ saying to

said, "Let the *Ansāri* have one shroud and Hamzah another." Further, one of the shrouds was larger than the other, so they drew a lot to determine who would get what, after which they enshrouded both.

[121] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/255/H. 4079).

[122] *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (2/174/The Book of Funerals) through chains whose narrators are reliable. However, the reports speak of prayers on them do not gain strength because of the reports that declare prayers on them not obligatory. See (3/498/H. 3134, 3135) and (3/547/H. 3215), and (3/501/H. 3136 and H. 3138).

[123] *Tirmidhi* (5/371/*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*/The Book of Funerals), who said: "*Hasan-Sahih*." Albāni agreed with it: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (2/142/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 1713); and Da'ās (6/34/*Jihād*/H. 1713). See also Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/142-143).

[124] *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/514/The Book of Funerals/H. 3165) and *At-Tirmidhi* (5/279/*Jihād*/H. 1717) *Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*. Tirmidhi ruled: *Hadith* is *Hasan-Sahih*; Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (8/149) through a reliable chain, and *An-Nasa'i* (4/79/The Book of Funerals/H. 2006) through a *Hasan* chain whose transmitters are trustworthy except for Nubayh 'Anazi who was in any case acceptable *At-Taqrib*, p. 559; Ibn Mājah in *Janā'iz* (H. 1516).

[125] See the whole supplication in the *Musnad* of Imam Ahmad (3/423) and *Al-Mustadrak* of Hākim (3/23) who thought it *Sahih* with Dhahabi seconding him.

[126] Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/58) through a *Hasan* chain.

Fātimah ؓ, "Here keep this sword of mine safely. It served me well," he remarked, "If only you had struck better with your sword! Sahl bin Hunayf, Abu Dujānah, 'Āsim bin Thābit Aqlah, and Hārith bin Sammah[127] used their swords very well."

The Prophet ﷺ also gave the good news to the Muslims of the rewards the martyrs had earned. When he heard 'Abdullah bin 'Amr's daughter Fātimah crying, he asked, "Why does she cry? The angels were shielding him with their wings all the time until he was buried."[128]

According to another report he said about her weeping, "Whether she weeps or not, the angels kept shielding him until you lifted his body."[129]

Allāh (ﷻ) also revealed concerning the martyrs of Uhud,

﴿وَلَا تَحْسَبَنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ قُتِلُوا۟ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ أَمْوَٰتًۢا ۚ بَلْ أَحْيَآءٌ عِندَ رَبِّهِمْ يُرْزَقُونَ﴾

"Do not consider those who were killed in the way of Allāh as dead. Rather, they are alive with their Lord, being fed."[130]

Muslim[131] has reported that Ibn Mas'ūd ؓ was asked to explain this Verse. He replied, "We asked the Prophet about it. He said, 'Their souls have taken dwelling in (the bodies of) green birds. They have chandeliers hung for them by the *'Arsh*. They fly about in

[127] Reported by *Al-Hākim* (3/24) who declared it reliable and Dhahabi approved it; Tabarāni as in *Al Majma'* (6/123) where Haythami said, "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih*."

[128] *Sahih Muslim* (4/1917-1918/H. 2471).

[129] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15255/H. 4080) and (6/141/H. 1244) and *Muslim* (4/1918/H. 2471).

[130] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 169. The *Hadith* was reported by Imam Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/123); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/15) and *At-Tirmidhi* (8/188-1789/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3013, 3014) commenting upon the first one as *Hasan-Gharib*, and about the second one as *Hasan-Sahih*; Hākim, who judged it reliable with Dhahabi agreeing with him.

[131] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1502-1503/H. 1887). The *Hadith* was reported by more than one of the compilers of *Sunan*. See Shawkāni: *Fathul-Qadir* (1/399) where one can find several scholar's opinion about their life in the Next World.

Paradise wherever they wish. Then they return to the chandeliers...''' Accordingly, scholars say that martyrs are alive as also clearly confirmed by several *Ahādith*.[132]

When the Prophet ﷺ returned to Madinah, he heard women crying for their dead. He remarked, "No one cries for Hamzah." When he woke up he heard women crying for Hamzah.[133] However, he forbid shouting, wailing, tearing of clothes, and such other acts.[134]

Several Verses were revealed referring to various aspects of the Uhud battle bearing many lessons for the believers.[135] A few are as follows:

﴿وَلَا تَهِنُوا۟ وَلَا تَحْزَنُوا۟ وَأَنتُمُ ٱلْأَعْلَوْنَ إِن كُنتُم مُّؤْمِنِينَ﴾

1. *"Do not weaken down nor grieve. You will be victorious if you are steadfast."*[136]

﴿إِن يَمْسَسْكُمْ قَرْحٌ فَقَدْ مَسَّ ٱلْقَوْمَ قَرْحٌ مِّثْلُهُۥ ۚ وَتِلْكَ ٱلْأَيَّامُ نُدَاوِلُهَا
بَيْنَ ٱلنَّاسِ﴾

2. *"If injuries have struck you, the people (your enemies) have also been struck with similar injuries. And these are days that We alternate among the people."*[137]

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[132] See Shawkāni: *Fathul-Qadir* (1/399) who depends on a report in *At-Tirmidhi* (8/188-89/H. 3013, 3014).

[133] Recorded by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (7/82). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*; *Al-Hākim* (1/381) in brief, treating it as reliable with Dhahabi's approval; *Ibn Sa'd* (3/16) also reported the *Hadith* through chains whose transmitters were trustworthy except for Usāmah bin Zayd Laythi, who suffered slight weakness. His narrative is strengthened by reports that Ibn Sa'd brought after this report and after the reports of Ahmad and Hākim. Ibn Ishāq preserved it through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/144-145).

[134] This *Hadith* was mentioned by *Ibn Hishām* (3/145) through a *Mu'allaq* report, and *Ibn Sa'd* (3/17).

[135] See a big portion of these Verses in Ibn Ishāq–*Ibn Hishām* (3/154-174).

[136] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 139.

[137] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 140.

﴿أَمْ حَسِبْتُمْ أَن تَدْخُلُوا۟ ٱلْجَنَّةَ وَلَمَّا يَعْلَمِ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ جَـٰهَدُوا۟ مِنكُمْ وَيَعْلَمَ
ٱلصَّـٰبِرِينَ﴾

3. *"Do you reckon you will enter into Paradise when Allāh has not yet known those among you who can fight and are patient?"*[138]

﴿وَلِيَعْلَمَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنكُمْ شُهَدَآءَ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ ٱلظَّـٰلِمِينَ﴾

4. *"(The defeat was) in order that Allāh may take some of you as martyrs and Allāh does not approve of the transgressors."*[139]

﴿وَلَقَدْ كُنتُمْ تَمَنَّوْنَ ٱلْمَوْتَ مِن قَبْلِ أَن تَلْقَوْهُ فَقَدْ رَأَيْتُمُوهُ وَأَنتُمْ تَنظُرُونَ﴾

5. *"And, you were wishing for death before you encountered it. Now, you have seen it, with your own eyes."*[140]

﴿وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ ٱلرُّسُلُ ۚ أَفَإِي۟ن مَّاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ ٱنقَلَبْتُمْ
عَلَىٰٓ أَعْقَـٰبِكُمْ ۚ وَمَن يَنقَلِبْ عَلَىٰ عَقِبَيْهِ فَلَن يَضُرَّ ٱللَّهَ شَيْـًۭٔا ۗ وَسَيَجْزِى ٱللَّهُ
ٱلشَّـٰكِرِينَ﴾

6. *"Muhammad is no more than a Messenger. Other Messengers have passed before him. So, if he died, or was killed, will you turn on your heels? And whoever turned on his heels will do no harm to Allāh. And, Allāh will soon reward the grateful."*[141]

﴿وَمَا كَانَ لِنَفْسٍ أَن تَمُوتَ إِلَّا بِإِذْنِ ٱللَّهِ كِتَـٰبًۭا مُّؤَجَّلًۭا﴾

7. *"And, it is not for anyone to die but by Allāh's leave: 'a determined decree'."*[142]

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[138] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 142.

[139] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 140.

[140] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 143. See this Verse explained in the books of *Tafsir*.

[141] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 144.

[142] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 145.

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ إِن تُطِيعُواْ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُواْ يَرُدُّوكُمْ عَلَىٰٓ أَعْقَٰبِكُمْ فَتَنقَلِبُواْ خَٰسِرِينَ﴾

8. *"O you who have believed! If you obeyed the disbelievers, they will turn you back on your heels. In that event, you will be turning losers."*[143]

﴿تَكُونُواْ تَأْلَمُونَ فَإِنَّهُمْ يَأْلَمُونَ كَمَا تَأْلَمُونَ ۖ وَتَرْجُونَ مِنَ ٱللَّهِ مَا لَا يَرْجُونَ ۗ﴾

9. *"If you feel the pain, they also feel the pain. But you hope from Allāh what they do not hope."*[144]

No less than fifty-eight Verses came down in reference to this battle in the chapter titled *Āl Imrān* beginning with the mention of the very first stage of the battle. It said,

﴿وَإِذْ غَدَوْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ تُبَوِّئُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَقَٰعِدَ لِلْقِتَالِ﴾

"And when you started off from your home folk in the morning, posting the believers at their stations for the fight."[145]

The discourse ended with a remark that summed up the whole event,

﴿مَّا كَانَ ٱللَّهُ لِيَذَرَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَىٰ مَآ أَنتُمْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّىٰ يَمِيزَ ٱلْخَبِيثَ مِنَ ٱلطَّيِّبِ ۗ وَمَا كَانَ ٱللَّهُ لِيُطْلِعَكُمْ عَلَى ٱلْغَيْبِ وَلَٰكِنَّ ٱللَّهَ يَجْتَبِى مِن رُّسُلِهِۦ مَن يَشَآءُ ۖ فَـَٔامِنُواْ بِٱللَّهِ وَرُسُلِهِۦ ۚ وَإِن تُؤْمِنُواْ وَتَتَّقُواْ فَلَكُمْ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"It was not for Allāh to leave the believers in a state in which you were until He had distinguished between the good and the rotten. And Allāh was not such as to allow you knowledge of the Unseen. Rather, Allāh chooses as Messengers whom He wills. Therefore, believe in Allāh and His Messenger. And, if you

[143] *Surat Āl 'Imrān* : 149.

[144] *Surah An-Nisa'*: 104.

[145] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 121

believe and are God-fearing, you shall have a great reward."[146]

Lessons and Rules

Ibn Qaiyim[147] has offered us a few lessons and rules that can be drawn from the battle of Uhud. We reproduce them in brief:

1. *Jihād* requires that the first action be taken for it: if preparations have been made for it and (the army has) advanced (to the front) then there should be no withdrawing, until a fight has taken place.
2. It is not necessary for the Muslims to go out into the open and face the enemy's attack. It is allowable that they fight from within the town, if that suits them militarily, as the Prophet ﷺ initially decided to do.
3. It is allowed for the leader of the Muslims to pass through any private property if it happens to fall on their way, as it happened with Mirba' bin Qayzi's estate.
4. Those who have not reached the age of puberty may not be allowed to participate in a war. They might be returned as the Prophet ﷺ returned Ibn 'Umar and others.
5. It is allowed to make use of women's services in wars, but, of course, not for fighting, but rather, for medical and supply services (i.e., logistics).
6. It is allowed to penetrate deep into enemy lines as Anas bin Nadr and others did.
7. If the Imam receives wounds and offers prayers from a sitting position, as did the Prophet ﷺ, then the followers should also sit down and offer their prayers from that posture.[148]

[146] *Surat Āl 'Imrān* : 179.

[147] *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/211-212).

[148] See these details in *Al-Mughni* (2/220-21), *Al-Muhalla* (3/59), and *Naylul-Awtār* (3/159).

8. It is allowed that a man desire for martyrdom and death in the way of Allāh, as did 'Abdullah bin Jahsh. This is not the desire for death that is ordinarily disallowed.

9. If a believer commits suicide, as did Quzmān, he is of the people of Fire.

10. It is *Sunnah* not to wash the martyrs or enshroud them in coffin cloth. They might be buried in their bloodied clothes. The reason being, as given in Tirmidhi's[149] report, that they will rise on the Day of Judgement with their blood flowing down their wounds which will smell like musk. Ibn Ishāq[150] has reported the Prophet ﷺ as saying about the martyrs of Uhud, "I shall bear witness for them. There isn't a wound in the way of Allāh but Allāh will resurrect him on the Day of Judgement with the wound bleeding, the blood of blood color, but issuing the fragrance of musk."

11. As for the funeral prayers over the martyrs, there is difference in opinion between the scholars. Ibn Qaiyim[151] has said that the Imam has the choice to offer or not to offer the prayers. Reports of both choices have come down to us.

The editors of *Zādul-Ma'ād*[152] have reproduced all the *Ahādith* on this topic and then said, "These narrations prove that the funeral prayers for the martyrs are allowed, but not obligatory. Many Companions were martyred at Badr and other places but it is not reported that the Prophet ﷺ prayed over them. Had the Prophet ﷺ done it, the matter would not have gone unreported."

12. It is *Sunnah* that the martyrs be buried where they fall.

[149] *Sunan* (3/412-413/chapter of *Janā'iz*/H. 1036/Da'ās).

[150] *Ibn Hishām* (3/142-143), which is of the Disconnected (*Mursal*) reports of the Companions whose chain is *Hasan* and which Bayhaqi copied in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (3/290) and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/431) picking it up from Ibn Ishāq who did not name his first source.

[151] *Tahdhibus-Sunan* (4/295).

[152] Footnote of (3/213-214). With its importance in view, see its details.

13. Those whom Allāh (ﷻ) allows to stay back from *Jihād*, because of a disease or disability, or old age ... they can still go out if they so wish, although it is not obligatory on them. We have the case of 'Amr bin Jamuh participating in the battle despite his lameness; or Yaman, Hudhayfah's father; or Thābit bin Waqsh who were both of advanced age.

14. If a Muslim is accidentally killed by other Muslims in a battle, the Imam is required to pay the blood money from the government treasury as it happened involving Yamān.

Ibn Qaiyim[153] also mentioned some of the aims and objectives of the battle of Uhud picking them up from Allāh's discourse in the chapter *Āl 'Imrān*. He began with the following words,

﴿وَإِذْ غَدَوْتَ مِنْ أَهْلِكَ تُبَوِّئُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ مَقَاعِدَ لِلْقِتَالِ﴾

"When you started off in the morning from your home folk, posting the believers at the stations of fight."[154]

The discourse went on until the 60th Verse of the chapter. Some of those that Ibn Qaiyim mentioned are as follows:

(1) The battle taught the Muslims to realize how serious it is to disobey. Further, the losses they had suffered had a reason as Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَلَقَدْ صَدَقَكُمُ اللَّهُ وَعْدَهُ إِذْ تَحُسُّونَهُم بِإِذْنِهِ حَتَّىٰ إِذَا فَشِلْتُمْ وَتَنَازَعْتُمْ فِي الْأَمْرِ وَعَصَيْتُم مِّن بَعْدِ مَا أَرَاكُم مَّا تُحِبُّونَ مِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ الدُّنْيَا وَمِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ الْآخِرَةَ ثُمَّ صَرَفَكُمْ عَنْهُمْ لِيَبْتَلِيَكُمْ وَلَقَدْ عَفَا عَنكُمْ﴾

"Surely, Allāh kept His Promise with you when you were cutting them down by His Will. (That), until you flinched, and fell to disputing in the affair (of the booty) and disobeyed (the Prophet) after He (your Lord) had shown you (within easy reach) what you love. (So victory would have been yours, but) there were some

[153] *Az-Zād* (3/218 and the pages that follow).

[154] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 121.

8. It is allowed that a man desire for martyrdom and death in the way of Allāh, as did 'Abdullah bin Jahsh. This is not the desire for death that is ordinarily disallowed.

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وَتَنَٰزَعْتُمْ فِى ٱلْأَمْرِ وَعَصَيْتُم مِّنۢ بَعْدِ مَآ أَرَىٰكُم مَّا تُحِبُّونَ ۚ مِنكُم
مَّن يُرِيدُ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَمِنكُم مَّن يُرِيدُ ٱلْءَاخِرَةَ ۚ ثُمَّ صَرَفَكُمْ عَنْهُمْ
لِيَبْتَلِيَكُمْ ۖ وَلَقَدْ عَفَا عَنكُمْ﴾

"Surely, Allāh kept His Promise with you when you were cutting them down by His Will. (That), until you flinched, and fell to disputing in the affair (of the booty) and disobeyed (the Prophet) after He (your Lord) had shown you (within easy reach) what you love. (So victory would have been yours, but) there were some

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[153] *Az-Zād* (3/218 and the pages that follow).

[154] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 121.

among you who aimed at this world, while there were others who aimed at the Hereafter. So He turned you away from them - (and from victory) - in order that He might try you. However, (lay that aside now, for) He has forgiven you (and spared you a total defeat). And Allāh is full of grace for the believers."[155]

The result was that when they had suffered the consequences of their disobedience of the Prophet ﷺ, their disagreements between themselves and their failure to do what was commanded. Thereafter, they became extremely careful to avoid the causes that had produced those results.

(2) It is Allāh's *Sunnah* with the Messengers and their followers that they should both win as well as lose. However the ultimate triumph is theirs. Had they always won, the objective of raising Prophets would not have been achieved. Allāh's Wisdom demanded that He should combine the two, victory and defeat, in order to distinguish between those who are true believers and followers of the truth and what the Prophets bring, from those who are otherwise. This in fact is one of the signs of a true Messenger as Heraclius remarked when he asked Abu Sufyān, "Have you fought him?" He replied, "Yes." He asked, "With what results?" He replied, "Like a pail (of water going up and down), sometimes in our favor, sometimes in his." Heraclius remarked, "That is how the Messengers are tested. However, final victory is theirs."[156]

(3) The disaster at Uhud helped differentiate between the believers and hypocrites who had outwardly submitted to Islam after the battle of Badr. It is to this that Allāh (ﷻ) referred when He said,

﴿مَّا كَانَ ٱللَّهُ لِيَذَرَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ عَلَىٰ مَآ أَنتُمْ عَلَيْهِ حَتَّىٰ يَمِيزَ ٱلْخَبِيثَ مِنَ ٱلطَّيِّبِ...﴾

[155] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 152.

[156] Being a narration of Abu Sufyān in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/71/H. 2941), and *Muslim* (3/1395/H. 1773).

"It was not for Allāh to leave the believers in the state you were until He had distinguished between the good from the rotten."[157]

(4) Another function of the battle was to bring to light the quality of devotion of His supporters and forces in ease as well as in difficulty. When they stayed firm in their obedience, in all circumstances, easy and difficult, they proved that they were true slaves and not of the kind who are true slaves so long as the going is easy, good and pleasant.

(5) Nothing less than both ease and difficulty suit Allāh's slaves. He determines the affairs of His slaves following His Wisdom. When He wishes to feed his slaves, help them and take them to heights of glory, He first breaks them. Then His help follows in proportion to how humble and weak they become. This is what happened at Badr. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَلَقَدْ نَصَرَكُمُ ٱللَّهُ بِبَدْرٍ وَأَنتُمْ أَذِلَّةٌ﴾

"Surely, Allāh helped you at Badr although you were weak,"[158]

and at Hunayn about which Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَيَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ إِذْ أَعْجَبَتْكُمْ كَثْرَتُكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنكُمْ شَيْـًٔا﴾

"And (remember) the day of Hunayn when your numbers pleased you, but that availed you nothing."[159]

(6) Allāh has prepared for His true servants abodes in Paradise that they will not attain because of their deeds, but rather, they will attain them through trials and sufferings. Allāh creates those means by which they can be put to trials and sufferings, as He also inspires them to good deeds. He also opens for them several other opportunities for deeds by which they come to deserve their abode in Paradise.

(7) Human souls are prone to become arrogant and rebellious if they

[157] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 179.

[158] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 123.

[159] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 25.

experience perpetual victory and enjoy untroubled existence. This becomes a hurdle to traversing towards Allāh and the Hereafter. Therefore, when Allāh wills mercy and favor for it (the soul) He imposes trials that hold the cure for its diseases.

(8) Martyrdom is the highest of ranks possible for Allāh's slaves. And, it is not possible to attain this rank without the means and elements being in place first, such as, the enemy overcoming them.

(9) In trials and tribulations that descend from Allāh, is the cleansing and purifying of Allāh's slaves and an opportunity to attain martyrdom. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿. . . وَلِيَعْلَمَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَيَتَّخِذَ مِنكُمْ شُهَدَآءَ وَٱللَّهُ لَا يُحِبُّ ٱلظَّٰلِمِينَ ﴿١٤٠﴾ وَلِيُمَحِّصَ ٱللَّهُ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ وَيَمْحَقَ ٱلْكَٰفِرِينَ﴾

"If you were inflicted wounds (at Uhud), then (don't forget that) the (disbelieving) people also received similar wounds (at Badr, which did not weaken them. So why should you weaken)? These days of (victory and defeat) We run through the people in turns in order that He knows the (true) believers (from the false ones), and in order that He may take martyrs from your ranks. (As for the success of the disbelievers at Uhud, you should know that) Allāh does not approve of the transgressors (whatever their achievements). And, (the setback at Uhud was) in order that Allāh may purify the believers and destroy the disbelievers."[160]

(10) When Prophets are struck by misfortunes such as wounds, pain and illness, which is designed to raise their ranks, it becomes a *Sunnah* for their followers to bear their own tribulations with patience. The ultimate end is for them. This is Allāh's way with them.[161]

(11) The Prophet's participation in the battle, along with his followers, shoulder to shoulder, as one of the rank and file, was to impress on them that he did not wish to stand apart, rather stood equal to the common fighters. It also proved his courage, patience, and forbearance and readiness to bear the brunt in the way of Allāh.

[160] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 140, 141.

[161] See Husayn Bākiri, *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Uhud*, p. 371.

Chapter 8

Events between Uhud and Muraysi'

The Hamra'ul-Asad Expedition

Some time after departing from Uhud, on their way back, the pagans began to wonder if they should return and deliver a final and finishing blow to the Muslims. When the Prophet ﷺ learnt of their intention he invited his Companions to march out and confront them. But he added, "Let no one accompany us except those who fought with us at Uhud." Despite their losses and wounds still fresh, the Muslims responded well. Jābir bin 'Abdullah ؓ sought the Prophet's permission to join in although he hadn't participated at Uhud. That was because his father had left him behind to look after his sisters. He was allowed to join in.

The Muslims marched until a place called Hamra'ul-Asad.[1] When a traveler, Ma'bad bin Abu Ma'bad Khuzā'i met the Prophet ﷺ during the march, the Prophet ﷺ asked him to go up to Abu Sufyān and discourage him from returning. Ma'bad met Abu Sufyān at Rawhā'. His Islam was still not known. He told him about the Muslims advancing right upon him, having already reached Hamra'ul-Asad, and discouraged him from facing them. He suggested that a quick return to Makkah was a better course for him.[2]

[1] A place eight miles off Madinah on the right side of Dhul-Hulayfah.

[2] Ibn Ishāq, a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/148, 149, 150).

Allāh (ﷻ) said about this expedition,

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ ٱسْتَجَابُوا۟ لِلَّهِ وَٱلرَّسُولِ مِنۢ بَعْدِ مَآ أَصَابَهُمُ ٱلْقَرْحُ ۚ لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ وَٱتَّقَوْا۟ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"Those who responded to Allāh and the Messenger after the wounds had inflicted them. A great reward is in store for those of them who did well and were pious."[3]

Ibn Ishāq[4] reports that while the Muslims were returning from Hamra'ul-Asad, they captured Mu'āwiyah bin Mughirah, the maternal grandfather of 'Abdul-Mālik bin Marwan, along with Abu 'Izzah Jumahi whom the Prophet ﷺ had set free after Badr without ransom. He pleaded to be freed again. The Prophet ﷺ said, "By Allāh, you will not pass your hands over your cheeks in Makkah and say, 'I fooled Muhammad twice.'" Zubayr beheaded him on the Prophet's orders. Some reports say that the Prophet ﷺ said to Abu 'Izzah, "A believer cannot be stung from the same hole," and ordered 'Āsim bin Thābit to sever his head.[5]

This expedition took place on the eighth of Shawwāl thirty-two months after *Hijrah*. Other dates have also been suggested.[6] Ibn Ishāq's[7] opinion is that it took place on Sunday, the sixteenth day of Shawwāl.

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[3] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 172. Bukhāri noted that Zubayr and Abu Bakr were among them. See *Al-Fath* (15/253/H. 4077); Muslim also reported it (4/1881/H. 2418). A *Hadith* says that the Prophet ﷺ selected seventy men out of his Companions to confront Abu Sufyān. Shāmi explained that there is no contradiction between this statement and what the biographers have they all started off together, for seventy of them preceded, others followed by the rest.

[4] *Ibn Hishām* (3/152), through a weak chain.

[5] Reported by *Ibn Hishām* on the authority of Ibn Musaiyab (3/152), and the *Hadith* is in the *Sahihayn*. Nevertheless, it is of a general nature and does not refer specifically to any occasion. See *Al-Fath* (22/333/H. 6133) which happens to be a narrative of Ibn Musaiyab which means Ibn Hishām's report has its origin in the *Sahih* works. Ibn Hajar mentioned in his explanation of Bukhāri's report that Ibn Ishāq reported this *Hadith* in the *Maghāzi* without a chain.

[6] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/334), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/48) which both are weak narratives.

[7] *Ibn Hishām* (3/147) without a chain, reported by Tabari in his *Tārikh* and

Lessons

1. The Prophet's journey to Hamra'ul-Asad, in that state of injuries, is an example of his courage, patience and refusal to submit out of weakness. It also speaks of his accurate understanding of the situations of war and peace. The event also speaks well of his Companions who obeyed him in that situation of great distress and exhaustion. Allāh ﷻ said about them,

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ ٱسْتَجَابُوا۟ لِلَّهِ وَٱلرَّسُولِ مِنۢ بَعْدِ مَآ أَصَابَهُمُ ٱلْقَرْحُ ۚ لِلَّذِينَ أَحْسَنُوا۟ مِنْهُمْ وَٱتَّقَوْا۟ أَجْرٌ عَظِيمٌ ﴿١٧٢﴾ ٱلَّذِينَ قَالَ لَهُمُ ٱلنَّاسُ إِنَّ ٱلنَّاسَ قَدْ جَمَعُوا۟ لَكُمْ فَٱخْشَوْهُمْ فَزَادَهُمْ إِيمَـٰنًا وَقَالُوا۟ حَسْبُنَا ٱللَّهُ وَنِعْمَ ٱلْوَكِيلُ ﴿١٧٣﴾ فَٱنقَلَبُوا۟ بِنِعْمَةٍ مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ وَفَضْلٍ لَّمْ يَمْسَسْهُمْ سُوٓءٌ وَٱتَّبَعُوا۟ رِضْوَٰنَ ٱللَّهِ ۗ وَٱللَّهُ ذُو فَضْلٍ عَظِيمٍ﴾

"Those who responded to Allāh and the Messenger after the wounds had inflicted them, a great reward is in store for those of them who did well and were pious. Those to whom people said, 'Forces have gathered against you, therefore, fear them,' but their faith increased and they said, 'Allāh is sufficient for us. And He is the best of those to be trusted.' They returned with Allāh's blessing and bounty, with no evil having touched them. They followed Allāh's good Pleasure, and Allāh is the owner of great bounties."[8, 9]

Abu Salamah's Expedition

When the Bedouin tribes around Madinah heard of the Muslim defeat at Uhud, they felt encouraged against them. News began to come in from Banu Asad of Najd and Banu Hudhayl of 'Arafāt

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his *Tafsir*, coming from Ibn Ishāq. It stops at 'Ikrimah. It has in its chain Husayn bin 'Abdullah who was a weak reporter. See *Tafsir Al-Tabari* (7/99/Shākir).

[8] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 172-174.

[9] See reasons behind the revelation of these Verses: *Tafsir Al-Tabari* (7/399-415) who reports through authentic chains.

about their preparations to attack Madinah. News also reached the Prophet ﷺ that under the leadership of Tulayhah Asadi and his brother Salamah, Banu Asad bin Khuzaymah were preparing to attack Madinah, in hope of booty and winning credit with the Quraysh. The Prophet ﷺ took the immediate step of sending a force of a hundred and fifty men composed of the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār*, with Abu Salamah bin 'Abdul-Asad at their head. The Muslim force surprised their enemies at the waters near a mountain called Qatan. The enemy fled and the Muslims captured their cattle and returned to Madinah safely. That was in Muharram, thirty-five months after *Hijrah*.[10]

The Expedition of 'Abdullah bin Unays

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Abdullah bin Unays to do away with Khālid bin Sufyān Nubayh Hudhali who was either at Nakhlah, or at 'Uranah near Tā'if. Khālid was collecting forces to attack Madinah. Before leaving, 'Abdullah asked the Prophet ﷺ to describe the man. The Prophet ﷺ gave him the description and a few signs by which he could recognize him. When he met Khālid and found the signs on him, he cornered him and killed him. When he returned, the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Success to the man ..." He admitted him into his house and gave him a cane with which he could support himself, and which would be a sign between them on the Day of Judgment. He told him while handing the cane, "Few people will be on any support on that Day." So, 'Abdullah preserved it until his death.[11] It was buried with him when he

[10] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/340); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/50) without a chain; Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/344), Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) and shortened and Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (4/70). No report has come in this regard worthy of acceptance.

[11] We mentioned it briefly. See Ibn Ishāq for the complete story—*Ibn Hishām* (4/354-355) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain. But Bayhaqi mentioned the complete chain in *Dalā'il* (4/42-43) as well as in *Sunan*. His chain is Good (*Hasan*). It is also reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/496) via the same chain. It is also *Hasan*; and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/41-42/The Book of Prayer/H. 2249). It does not state the burial of the cane with him. It happens to be coming from Ibn Ishāq who did not mention whom he

died. The expedition was dated as on the fifth of Muharram, thirty-five months after *Hijrah*.[12]

Raji' Expedition

Bukhāri[13] has preserved the report that the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Āsim bin Thābit ﷺ[14] along with others to watch the movement of the enemies. When they had gone as far as 'Usfān, they were spotted by someone who passed the news to one of the tribes called Banu Lihyān. They followed their footsteps until a place where the

heard from. Ibn Hajar considered it *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (15/260/The Book of *Maghāzi*). Also see *Al-Wāqidi* (2/531) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/50).

[12] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/50). Wāqidi mentioned that Ibn Unays left on Monday the fifth of Muharram, fifty-four months after the *Hijrah*, and arrived at Madinah on the seventh of Muharram. Ibn Sa'd seems to be more accurate because Wāqidi himself stated that the Raji' tragedy was due to the Muslims killing Khālid Hudhali. Wāqidi maintains that Raji' was in Safar, thirty-six months after *Hijrah*—*Al-Wāqidi* (3541).

[13] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/260-265/H. 4086). It is also reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad*: *Ar-Rabbāni* (21/60-62) being similar to the narration of Bukhāri. Biographers have also reported the story, viz., Ibn Ishaq through a chain stopping at 'Āsim bin 'Umar—*Ibn Hishām* (3/241-260); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/354-363) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/55-56) with a correct chain. It states that they were a group of people from the tribe of Khuzaymah. They said, "O Messenger of Allāh. We have Islam in us. So, send along with us a few of your men who can instruct us and teach us how to recite the Qur'ān and teach us the law of Islam." So the Prophet ﷺ sent with them ten men ... to the end of the story. You might compare this text and the text that is with Bukhāri and others.

[14] Both Bukhāri and 'Urwah in *Al-Maghāzi* mentioned the same reason behind the expedition of Raji'. See *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah, p. 175. 'Urwah did not mention except three and added that Banu Lihyān were of the Hudhayl encountered them at Raji' of the Najd. But what is better known is that Raji' is a watering place for Hudhayl in the Hijāz region. See Ibn Qaiyim's *Zād* (3/244).

However, the reason according to Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/242) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain is that a group of people came from 'Adal and Qārah to the Prophet ﷺ and told him that there was Islam in their tribe and asked for some Companions to accompany them and teach them Islam. Ibn Sa'd agreed with this version. Ibn Ishāq said that their number

Muslims had encamped earlier. They found Madinan seeds in the cattle droppings and thereon kept following their footsteps. Finally, they caught up with them. When 'Āsim and his men found themselves surrounded, they climbed a hill to which the Banu Lihyān laid siege. They said, "We give you our word that if you come down, we shall not kill any of you." 'Āsim responded by saying, "So far as I am concerned, I shall not go down on a word given by a disbeliever. O Allāh, deliver our news to the Prophet." So they fought and seven of them jointly killed 'Āsim with arrows. Khubayb, Zayd and another man were left.[15] They gave them the word once again that if they came down they wouldn't harm them. So Khubayb and Zayd went down. But when they had surrendered, they disarmed them and tied them up. The third man with them said, "This is the first deceit," and refused to move with them. They tried to pull him along but he wouldn't budge, so they killed him. They took Khubayb and Zayd to Makkah and sold them there. Banu Hārith bin 'Āmir bin Nawfal purchased Khubayb. Khubayb رضي الله عنه had killed Hārith bin 'Āmir at Badr.[16] He remained in their custody for a few days until they decided to finish him off. Once Khubayb

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was six, with Marthad bin Abu Marthad as their leader. He named others. On the other hand Wāqidi mentioned their number as seven. He also named them. He also put it as ten, but in weak terms, naming Marthad as their leader, but in weak terms that it was 'Āsim. He stated the cause as some of the Banu Lihyan went up to 'Adal and Qārah and tipped them with some money to accompany them to the Prophet ﷺ and seek from him to send those who could invite them to Islam. They planned to capture them and sell them in Makkah. It is possible to reconcile the two reports of Bukhāri and Ibn Ishāq by saying that he agreed to send them because of the coming down of men from 'Adal and Qārah. See 'Urjun: *Muhammad Rasulullah* ﷺ (4/41).

[15] He is 'Abdullah bin Tāriq as in the narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/244) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/357).

[16] Some biographers mention that Khubayb رضي الله عنه did not attend Badr, but rather the one who attended it and killed Hārith bin 'Āmir was Khubayb bin Isāf. The reconciliation of reports between the biographers and Bukhāri, offered by Ibn Hajar, is that they killed Khubayb in retaliation of Hārith by Khubayb bin Isāf, following the tradition of the *Jāhiliyyah* according to which they killed anyone of a tribe in retaliation of murder. See 'Urjun's discussion in: *Muhammad Rasulullah* ﷺ (4/53-65).

borrowed a knife from one of the women to cleanse himself. She lent it to him but forgot about her little son. She reports, "Khubayb picked up the child and placed him on his lap. When I saw that I was terrified. He noticed my terror. The child was with him and the big knife in his hand!" But Khubayb assured her, "Are you afraid that I will kill him? I shall not do that, Allāh willing." She later said, "I haven't seen a prisoner better than Khubayb. I saw him eating from a bunch of grapes when there were no grapes in Makkah those days while the man was in chains. Surely, Allāh had fed him."[17]

Finally, they took him to the Haram area to kill him there. He asked them to allow him to pray. After he had done it he said, "If you didn't think it was from fear of death, I would have prolonged my prayer." Thus, he became the first ever to do two cycles of prayer before death. Then he said, "O Allāh. Count them in numbers, destroy them in total, and spare none of them." Then he sang out a poetical piece which said,

"What do I care if I am killed a believer
As to which of my side falls in Allāh's way.
This is for Allāh's sake, and if He wills
He will bless the limbs thus torn."[18]

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[17] The report of this thaumaturgy has been mentioned by Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/246) to whom it was Māwiyyah the freed slave-girl of Hujayr bin Abu Ihāb who had spoken. She had embraced Islam.

[18] Ibn Hajar said in explanation of this *Hadith* (15/265): "Abul-Aswad quoted from 'Urwah a few more verses than these. Then he quoted those verses as follows:

"Gangs have gathered around me, responding to the call of the tribes, and have assembled all of whom they could collect.

They have brought together their wives and children, and I have come close to a long trunk.

To Allāh I complain of my days away from home and my pain, and how the gangs captured me at the place of my fall.

Lord of the 'Arsh, bestow on me patience against their intentions, for they have cut up my flesh and my hope has dried.

This is for Allāh, and if He wishes He could bless the limbs of my corpse torn apart.

Then 'Uqbah bin Hārith[19] got up and killed him.

On the other side, the Quraysh sent someone to 'Āsim's corpse to bring back some flesh from his body. 'Āsim had killed one of their great[20] chiefs at Badr. But Allāh (ﷻ) sent swarms of bee that covered his body and so they could not get close to it.[21]

Hassān bin Thābit said some very moving poetry on Khubayb and his companions.[22]

As for Zayd bin Dathinah, Safwān bin Umaiyah bought him to kill him in revenge of his father Umaiyah bin Khalaf. When they took him to Tan'im in order to kill him, a few of the Quraysh gathered to watch. Abu Sufyān was one of them. He asked, "Tell me in Allāh's name, don't you wish that Muhammad was in your place to be killed and you among your home folk?" Zayd replied, "I don't

By my life, I don't care so long as I die a Muslim, what kind of death it is going to be."

See the *Maghāzi* of 'Urwah, p. 177. *Ibn Hishām* noted (3/250) that some of the experts in poetry have doubted some of the pieces attributed to him. Ibn Hajar reported that Ibn Ishāq quoted a few more poetical Verses from Khubayb.

19 In a second narration from Bukhāri it was mentioned that the one who killed him was Abu Sarwa'ah: *Al-Fath* (15/266) while a third narration says that the one who killed him was Abu Sarwa'ah 'Uqbah bin Hārith (15/177). Ibn Hajar pointed out that Abu Sarwa'ah was 'Uqbah's brother and Sarwa'ah and 'Uqbah are not the same persons. According to another report of Ibn Ishāq, coming through a *Hasan-Sahih* chain, 'Uqbah bin Hārith didn't kill Khubayb because he was too small for that, but rather the one who killed him was Abu Maysarah 'Abdari. He placed the spear in the hand of the child then he took his hand and pierced Khubayb until he died.

20 He is 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt who was taken as prisoner at the battle of Badr and was killed by 'Āsim according to the instruction of the Prophet ﷺ.

21 Ibn Ishāq mentioned that Hudhail wanted to take the head of 'Āsim and sell it to Sulāfah bint Sa'd bin Shuhayd. She had vowed when her two sons were killed at Uhud that if she got hold of 'Āsim's head, she would open the skull to drink wine from it—*Ibn Hishām*, without a chain (3/244).

22 See the report in Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/250-260) and 'Urwah's *Maghāzi*, p. 177. A'zami said: "Tabarāni recorded it but it has in its chain Ibn Lahiy'ah whose reports are *Hasan* because of some weakness."

wish that Muhammad be in the place where he is now and a thorn prick him while I am sitting amongst my home folk." Abu Sufyān remarked, "I have never seen anyone loved, the way Muhammad's companions love him." Thereafter a freed slave of Safwān[23] called Nistās beheaded him.

When these people were killed, the hypocrites said, "How unlucky of these people to be killed in this manner. Neither they are at home now with their people, nor did they convey the message." Allāh ﷻ revealed in response,

﴿وَمِنَ ٱلنَّاسِ مَن يُعْجِبُكَ قَوْلُهُۥ فِى ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَيُشْهِدُ ٱللَّهَ عَلَىٰ مَا فِى قَلْبِهِۦ وَهُوَ أَلَدُّ ٱلْخِصَامِ﴾

"Among the people there is one whose words concerning the life of this world sends you wondering. He swears by Allāh over what he has in his heart, although he is the fiercest in argument."[24]

He also revealed about those that were martyred in that expedition,

﴿وَمِنَ ٱلنَّاسِ مَن يَشْرِى نَفْسَهُ ٱبْتِغَآءَ مَرْضَاتِ ٱللَّهِ وَٱللَّهُ رَءُوفٌۢ بِٱلْعِبَادِ﴾

"And among the people are some who will sell themselves seeking Allāh's Pleasure. And Allāh is Kind to His servants."[25, 26]

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr bin Umaiyah Damri to Quraysh to bring back Khubayb's body. He said, "Concealing myself from all eyes, I went up to Khubayb and untied him from his cross. His body

23 Ibn Ishāq without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/245); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/56).

24 *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 204.

25 *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 207

26 This was said by Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/248). It has a narrator who was not named. Ibn Kathir however gave the complete chain in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/76) using the same chain naming the unknown narrator as Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad. Nevertheless, the report is weak for two reasons: Ibn Ishāq's employment of "so-and-so" who dropped the name of the Companions, and for the fact that Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad was unknown as in *At-Taqrib*, p. 505.

fell down on the ground. I moved away a little (afraid someone will turn up from the sound). Then I turned again but I couldn't see him at all. As if the earth had swallowed him (i.e., his body). I haven't seen any sign of him since then."[27]

This expedition took place in Safar, thirty-six months after *Hijrah*.[28]

The Ma'ūnah Well Expedition

And in the same month during which the Prophet ﷺ sent his men in the campaign of Raji', he also sent his men in the campaign of Bi'r Ma'unah[29]

Trustworthy reports tell us that the Prophet ﷺ sent seventy of his best men towards Najd. They were all well versed in the Qur'ān, who spent the day in gathering wood, and the night[30] in devotional acts. What they earned from gathering wood, they spent on the People of the Platform (*Ashāb Suffāh*).

Muslim's report says that some people went to the Prophet ﷺ and requested that he send some of his men to teach them Qur'ān and his *Sunnah*.[31]

Bukhāri[32] on the other hand has it that the people that came to the Prophet ﷺ were of the branches of Banu Sulaym: Ri'l, Dhakwān, 'Usaiyah and Lihyān; they sought the Prophet's help against their enemies. In response he sent seventy of his men. Bukhāri is in agreement with Ibn Sa'd[33] over this version.

[27] Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/139) and (6/287) and Ibn Abu Shaybah through Ja'far bin 'Amr bin Umaiyah, and he through his father. In this chain falls Ibrāhim bin Ismā'il over whom the unanimous opinion is that he was weak. See *At-Taqrib*, p.88.

[28] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/354), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/55), their attributions were weak.

[29] This was said by *Al-Wāqidi* (1/346); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/51), and Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/260), their attributions were weak.

[30] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/268/H. 4090).

[31] *Muslim* (3/1511/H. 677).

[32] *Al-Fath* (15/267/H. 4090).

[33] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/53) through an authentic source.

Some historians[34] have added that Barā' bin 'Āmir bin Mālik visited Madinah. The Prophet ﷺ invited him to Islam. He neither accepted nor rejected, but said, "If you could send your men to the people of Najd to invite them to Islam; I expect them to respond positively." The Prophet ﷺ expressed his fear of the Najdis. Abu Barā' said, "I offer my protection."

It is also possible to say by way of reconciling the two reports that both events took place. That is, both Barā' and Banu Sulay made their requests and the Prophet ﷺ responded to their requests.

In any case, when these people encamped at the waters of Ma'unah, a place between the 'Āmir territory and that of Banu Sulaym, they sent Harām bin Milhān, a brother of the Banu Sulaym, with the Prophet's letter to 'Amir bin Tufayl. But the man did not read the letter. Instead, he signaled his men and two of them struck Harām with spears from the rear. When Harām saw blood flowing out, he remarked, "Allāh is Great. By the Lord of the Ka'bah,[35] I have succeeded."

Thereafter, Ibn Tufayl began to recruit men to fight the Muslims. The response was not good because of Abu Barā's protection. So, he appealed to the Banu Sulaym. 'Usaiyah, Ri'l and Dhakwān responded well. Consequently, a fierce battle ensued in which all the seventy Muslims were killed, except for Ka'b bin Zayd bin Najjār. He was left presumed dead. However, he recovered and lived up to the expedition of the Ditch. Two others, 'Amr bin Umaiyah and Mundhir had lingered behind, arriving at the scene later. When they arrived they too fought. Mundhir was killed and 'Amr was captured. However, 'Āmir released him in return of a slave that his mother owed.

'Amr bin Umaiyah returned to Madinah with the news. On his way he killed two men of Banu Kilāb in revenge of his companions. However, he didn't know that the Prophet ﷺ had a treaty with them. Therefore, the Prophet ﷺ paid blood money for two. While

[34] *Ibn Hishām* (3/260) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/51) without a chain and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/346). All their attributions are weak.

[35] Here the narration of the biographers agree with those of the *Sahihayn* except for the point about leadership of Mundhir and his nickname, which is mentioned in the narrations of the biographers.

raising the funds he appealed both to the Muslims as well to those Jews with whom he had a treaty.

But when he went to the Jews seeking their part, they tried to assassinate him. This was one of the reasons of the Banu Nadir expedition, as we shall see presently.

The Prophet ﷺ was in deep grief over the two incidents: Raji' and Ma'unah. For thirty consecutive days he prayed against those who had treacherously killed his Companions, naming Ri'l, Dhakwān, Lihyān and 'Usaiyah.[36]

During this expedition something happened[37] that spoke of 'Āmir bin Fuhayrah's high status in Islam. When 'Amr Damari was captured, Ibn Tufayl pointed to a dead body and asked, "Who is this?" 'Amr told him it was 'Āmir bin Fuhayrah. Ibn Tufayl said, "After he was killed I saw that he was being raised until I saw him between the heaven and earth. And then he was brought down."

Lessons and Notes on Raji' and Ma'ūna Expeditions[38]

1. The message that these two events have for the Muslims is that the mission and the call are the responsibility of every Muslim. It is not the duty of Prophets and Messengers alone, or of Muslim scholars.

   Also, we can see that despite the Prophet's fears, confirmed as true by the Raji' expedition, he did not withhold his men from Bir Ma'unah. In fact, he carried on thereafter sending his men across to teach the religion until the very end of his life. That is because he knew that the spread of the word of truth was the

[36] This summary is from *Sahih Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/266-274/H. 4088-4096), and they are nine traditions in total; *Muslim* (3/1511/H. 677)); Ahmad in his *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/63-65); Haythami in the *Majma'* (6/126) who said: "The transmitters are all those of the *Sahih* reports;" Tabarāni as in *Majma'* (6/126-127); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/51-54) and Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/260-267).

[37] *Al-Fath* (15/272/H. 4093).

[38] This summary is from *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Buti, pp. 199-201; *Hadhal-Habib Muhammad ﷺ Ya Muhibb*, p. 282, 285; and *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, pp. 298-301.

all-important affair in life, no matter how the situations turned during the struggle to establish Allāh's Word.

2. The salient feature of Islamic personality development was exemplified by Khubayb bin 'Adi when, despite been given the opportunity, he did not harm the child. He could have killed the child out of revenge, knowing very well that they were going to slaughter him anyway. On the other hand, the treacherous ways of the disbelievers came to be exposed in the Raji' and Ma'ūnah expeditions. Khubayb's exemplary behavior with the child did not teach them anything at all about the nobility of a character perhaps because treachery and deceit are characteristics of the disbelievers and pagans.

3. A Muslim should avoid surrendering himself to the enemy on promises of fair judgment. He should resist to the last, as did 'Āsim who refused to submit to the judgment of the disbelievers. But, if he can win firm promises of safety, he might take a chance, waiting for his own chance to win freedom, as did Zayd and Khubayb.

4. The miraculous event of Khubayb eating grapes while he was in prison confirmed that if miracles are possible for Prophets, thaumaturgies are possible for the *Awliya'*.

5. The legality of offering prayers just before being killed as did Khubayb. The Prophet ﷺ did not disagree with it.

6. Ibn Dathinah's strong faith manifested itself when he uttered those famous words. He said he didn't prefer that he be in peace among his folks while the Prophet ﷺ is pricked by a thorn. It demonstrated his love of the Prophet ﷺ. This of course should be the quality of every Muslim's love for the Prophet ﷺ.

7. The Companions of the Prophet ﷺ were the most beloved of the creations to Allāh (ﷻ), judging from the way they were tried in His cause.

8. The legality of special supplications in congregational prayers against the tyrants, and seeking the removal of tribulations descending on the Muslims

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The Banu Nadir Expedition

(a) The Cause

Historical sources point to three causes for this expedition.

1. Banu Nadir tried to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ after the Badr battle; they were prompted by the Quraysh.

2. Their efforts to assassinate him when he went up to them seeking help for the payment of blood money to the dependents of Banu Kalb killed by Damri.

3. Their efforts to incite the Quraysh to attack the Prophet ﷺ, and supply of secret information.

The sources tell us that the Quraysh sent word to the Jews that they will fight them too if they did not fight against the Prophet ﷺ. Banu Nadir responded by drawing up a plan to kill the Prophet ﷺ through treachery. They asked the Prophet ﷺ to come out with thirty of his men so that they could meet him with thirty of their own rabbis to discuss the issue of his message. If those thirty could be convinced, all the Jews would embrace Islam. When the two parties faced each other, the Jews suggested that initially three of their rabbis meet the Prophet ﷺ with three of his Companions. The rabbis were concealing daggers in their robes. But, one of their women revealed their plans to her brother who had turned a Muslim. He warned the Prophet ﷺ who returned immediately. A little later he ordered preparations for military action against them and besieged them until they agreed to leave with all the goods they could carry on their camels, but not arms.[39]

As regards the second cause, the sources report that when the Prophet ﷺ went up to them to collect funds for the payment of

[39] Reported by Abdur-Razzāq in his *Musannaf* (5/359-360) through an authentic chain whose narrators are reliable. As for the dropping of the Companion, it doesn't really affect; Abu Dāwud in the *Sunan* (3/404-406); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/178-179) reporting through Abu Dāwud and 'Abdur-Razzāq; Ibn Marduwayh through a trustworthy chain being a report of 'Abdur-Razzāq; 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Humayd in *Maghāzi*/ chapter *Hadith* Banu Nadir; and *Hākim* (2/483).

blood money being raised for the Kalb tribe, following the treaty that he had entered into with the Jews, they consulted among themselves. Someone suggested that they would never get a better chance to kill him. They decided that 'Amr bin Jihāsh should climb the roof under whose wall the Prophet ﷺ was sitting and push down a rock on him. Allāh (ﷻ) informed him of their intention and he withdrew immediately back to Madinah. His Companions, who had gone with him, did not notice his return and only came to know later that he had left. When they returned he told them what had happened and ordered them to prepare for an attack. He besieged Banu Nadir for six days until they agreed to come down on the condition that they leave with what their camels could carry.[40]

As regards the third cause, it is only Musa bin 'Uqbah[41] who reports it. He wrote: "Banu Nadir incited the Quraysh to fight against the Prophet ﷺ and sent them secret information." He added that they did this when they came down raiding Madinah, that led to the battle of Uhud.[42]

Probably Dr. 'Umari did not come across the reports in Bayhaqi which adds to the report of Musa bin 'Uqbah. But Ibn Hajar makes a note of it. The additional information therein is, "when they came down for the battle of Uhud..." That seems to be the reason why 'Umari said that Musa's narration does not say when the Jews incited the Quraysh against the Muslims.

However, it is commonly known that the Jews had encouraged the Quraysh to revenge, which resulted in the battle of Uhud. They

[40] Ibn Ishāq, through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/267-268). This report is strengthened by others, such as one coming from Musa bin 'Uqbah as found in Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/202) and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/180-181). In the report with Ibn Hajar, coming from Musa bin 'Uqbah, there are additions over what Ibn Ishāq had to report such as, Banu Nadir used to penetrate Quraysh ranks to suggest that they should fight back the Prophet ﷺ and revealed to them the weaknesses (in defense). Bukhāri's caption for the chapter reserved for this incidence suggests that he accepts these additions.

[41] With Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/203).

[42] From a narration by Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/180) through a weak chain.

had also helped Abu Sufyān in his raid on Madinah resulting in the Sawiq expedition. It is also known that Ka'b bin Ashraf used to spin out poetry inciting the Quraysh to revenge. All these things point to their antagonistic attitudes towards the Muslims of such intensity that they even tried to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ which finally led to their deportation from Madinah.[43]

(b) Warning

In view of the above incidents, the Prophet ﷺ ordered Banu Nadir to leave Madinah within ten days, warning them that anyone seen after that would be at risk to his life. However, as they were getting ready to leave, 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy went up to them and told them not to quit. He promised them his own help if attacked. So they announced that they weren't leaving and the Muslims besieged them.[44] Several Verses of *Surat Al-Hashr* referred to this incident. One of them said,

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ نَافَقُوا۟ يَقُولُونَ لِإِخْوَٰنِهِمُ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ مِنْ أَهْلِ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ
لَئِنْ أُخْرِجْتُمْ لَنَخْرُجَنَّ مَعَكُمْ وَلَا نُطِيعُ فِيكُمْ أَحَدًا أَبَدًا وَإِن قُوتِلْتُمْ لَنَنصُرَنَّكُمْ
وَٱللَّهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَٰذِبُونَ. . .﴾

"Have you seen those who acted hypocritically? They said to their brethren in disbelief, 'If you are expelled, we shall leave with you, obeying none in this affair. And, if you are attacked, we shall help you.' Allāh is witness that they are liars..."[45]

[43] *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni fi 'Ahdin-Nubuwwah*, p. 147.

[44] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/367-369) recorded it mentioning the period; Ibn Ishāq, without a chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/269), *Ibn Sa'd* (3/57-58) without a chain being the same report as that of Wāqidi; Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/181-183) through two chains in which there are altogether four unknown persons. Thus, all the reports are weak.

[45] *Surat Al-Hashr*. 11-12. Of those who mentioned that the reason behind the revelation of the Verse were Banu Nadir and the hypocrites, were: Tabari

(c) Deportation and its Conditions

Trustworthy collection of *Ahādith* tell us merely that the Prophet ﷺ besieged them when they antagonized him.[46] However, other works give us the details, especially the biographical and war accounts about the exact nature of their belligerent acts and the exile details. It is proven through trustworthy reports that the Prophet ﷺ besieged them and sent word, "You will not be in peace with me until you enter into a fresh treaty." But they refused the renewal so he fought them. The next day he left them and went to the Banu Qurayzah seeking to renew his treaty with them. They agreed. So he renewed the treaty with them and returned to Banu Nadir and besieged them once again until they came down opting for exile. The condition was that they would carry with them everything that a camel could carry except for arms. Accordingly, they set out with everything they could load on their camels, down to doors and windows. They even tore down their dwellings in order to get timber out.[47]

The Qur'ān[48] confirms (*Al-Hashr*: 5) that the Prophet ﷺ ordered

in his *Tafsir* (28/46) with a weak attribution to Ibn 'Abbās, and another chain stopping at Mujāhid but whose narrators are reliable; and Ibn Ishāq without a chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/272-273).

Thus all the reports are weak although some strengthen the others. As for the coming down of the *Surat Al-Hashr* in connection with Banu Nadir, this is proved through reliable reports. The *Surah* also contains some Verses that speak of the hypocrites. It is also known that Ibn 'Abbās called this *Surah* as *Surah Bani An-Nadir* as reported by Bukhāri. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/204/The Book of *Maghāzi*/H. 4029).

[46] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/202/H. 4028).

[47] Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/358-361); Abu Dāwud in the *Sunan* (3/404-407/H. 3004); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/181-182), see *Al-Fath* (15/202). This report has also been recorded by the biographers: Ibn Ishāq without a chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/268-269); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/57-58) a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report, and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/364-375) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

[48] *Surat Al-Hashr*: 5. *"What you cut down of the palm trees, or you left them standing on their stems, it was by the leave of Allāh."* Bukhāri reported that the Verse was revealed when the Prophet ﷺ cut and burned palm trees of

pulling out and burning down of a few date-palm trees during the siege in order to clear the way for attack.[49]

Some reports say that they were deported to Shām.[50] Others say they went to Khayber.[51] Ibn Ishāq[52] reconciles the two by saying, "So they went away to Khayber. However, some proceeded to Shām. Of their notable men who settled in Khayber were, Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq and Huyaiy bin Akhtab. They were welcomed there." Later events also confirm that some of them settled in Khayber as they fought the Prophet ﷺ when he raided them. Kinānah was killed in that encounter and Safiyyah was taken prisoner at that time.[53]

However, two of them embraced Islam: Yāmin bin 'Umar bin Ka'b and Abu Sa'd bin Wahb, and thus saved their property.[54]

Whatever was left of the property of Banu Nadir, as also the date-palm groves, were attached to the Prophet ﷺ.[55] He used to provide his family thereof, once in a year. And what was left thereafter, he used to spend on arms and equipment in Allāh's cause.[56]

Banu Nadir. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/266/H. 4884), and (15/205/H. 4031-4032).

[49] See Bukhāri's reports on the Chapter dealing with Banu Nadir—the same source; *Sunan At-Tirmidhi/Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi* (5/157-158), and *Sunan Ibn Mājah* (3/948-49).

[50] This was reported by Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/358-361), through a trustworthy chain of transmitters.

[51] *Ibn Sa'd* (3/58) through a weak chain.

[52] *Ibn Hishām* (3/269), *Mu'allaq*.

[53] See 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: At-Tanzimāt*, p. 149.

[54] Ibn Ishāq - with a *Munqati'* attribution, being a narrative of his Shaykh 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr—*Ibn Hishām* (3/270). A *Munqati'* report is of course belongs to the weak class.

[55] This is according to the Verse: "*And what Allāh gave as booty to His Messenger from them - for which you made no expedition with either cavalary or camelry ...*" and the revelation of *Surat Al-Hashr* in reference to Banu Nadir as reported by Bukhāri: *Al-Fath* (18/266/H. 4882, 4883). See *Sahih Muslim* (3/1388-1390/H. 1768-1769).

[56] This was reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/266/H. 4885).

Their lands were divided between the *Muhājir*. The *Ansār* got nothing. Sahl bin Hunayf and Abu Dujānah were the exceptions. These two *Ansāris* were extremely poor.[57]

Notwithstanding these events, the Banu Nadir would not stay quiet even at Khayber. They encouraged the Makkans to attack, which resulted in the Khandaq encounter.[58]

(d) Date of Exile

'Abdur-Razzāq[59] has reported on the authority of Zuhri, as has Hākim[60] through 'Urwah, that the exile took place after the battle of Badr.[61] Bukhāri added in the chapter notes that it took place sixteen months after Badr and before Uhud. Ibn Hajar[62] has said that 'Abdur-Razzāq has traced it more in detail through Ma'mar and he through Zuhri, which Bayhaqi[63] has also reported, adopting the same chain of narrators. Bayhaqi[64] also reported through Zuhri through 'Aqil as have Bukhāri and 'Abdur-Razzāq.

[57] Reported by Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/358-361); *Abu Dāwud* (3/404/H. 3004) who did not reveal the names of the two, and Ibn Ishāq, through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/270).

[58] The report about the death of Sallām bin Abu Huqayq will be mentioned when we deal with the battle of Khayber. It was because he had instigated the battle of the Confederates. Ibn Ishāq, through a *Munqati'* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/298) mentioned the names of the Jews of Banu Nadir who incited the Confederates: Sallām, Huyaiy and Kinānah. Others who mentioned their names: 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/368-373); *Ibn Sa'd* (3/65-66); and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/275) being a report coming from Musa bin 'Uqbah—Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). In sum, the reports on this topic are all weak although as a whole they get strong, some strengthening others, for they are to be found in the works of important biographers and war chroniclers and they have supporting evidences.

[59] *Al-Musannaf* (5/357) using an authentic chain.

[60] *Al-Mustadrak* (2/483) treated *Sahih* and Dhahabi agreed to it.

[61] The great battle of Badr was on the seventeenth of Ramadān in the second year after *Hijrah*.

[62] *Al-Fath* (15/201/The Book of *Maghāzi, Hadith* on Banu Nadir) – unnumbered.

[63] See: *Al-Musannaf* (5/357) and *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (3/178) with an attribution to 'Āishah ؓ.

[64] *Dalā'il* (3/176).

Thus, the *Hadith* books place it between Badr and Uhud. But the biographers and historians assert that it was after Uhud. Ibn Ishāq's[65] opinion is that it took place in the fourth year after *Hijrah.* Wāqidi[66] and Ibn Sa'd,[67] on the other hand, have stated the date as the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, thirty-seven months after *Hijrah*. Ibn Hishām[68] agrees with them that it took place in Rabi'ul-Awwal.

Now, since everyone agrees that the Ma'ūnah expedition took place after Uhud, all available data point to the fact that the Banu Nadir exile took place after Uhud. Bukhāri has indicated his preference by quoting from Ibn Ishāq. He also states that 'Amr Damri was present in the Ma'ūnah expedition as also proving that Ma'ūnah was after Uhud. Further, 'Amr Damri is cited as one of the causes of the Banu Nadir expedition. Thus Banu Nadir exile can be placed after Uhud alone, as also after the Ma'ūnah expedition. This falls in line with what Ibn Ishāq and others of the biographers and historians have stated. Ibn Hajar,[69] Sindi[70] and 'Umari[71] are inclined towards this position which we adopt here.

Lessons and Rules

1. Allāh's information to the Prophet ﷺ regarding the treacherous intentions of Banu Nadir goes to prove that Jews committed this several times. It also proved true Allāh's Promise to him that He would protect him, a promise stated in the Verse, *"And Allāh will protect you from the people."* This miracle, as also several others, should lead us to believe in the Prophet ﷺ.

2. The Prophet's uprooting and burning of some date-palm trees belonging to the Banu Nadir implies that it is allowed for the

[65] *Ibn Hishām* (3/267), suspended.
[66] *Al-Maghāzi* (1/363).
[67] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/57).
[68] *As-Sirat* (3/268).
[69] *Al-Fath* (15/203/H. 4028).
[70] *Marwiyyātu Tārikhi Yahudil-Madinah*, p. 142.
[71] *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: At-Tanzimāt*, pp. 144-145.

Commander of the Faithful to take such a step against the enemy, if he thinks it suits the war situation. This opinion has the backing of Nāfi', Mālik, Thawri, Abu Hanifah, Shāfi'i, Ahmad, Ishāq and the great majority of scholars.

However, Layth, Abu Thawr and Awzā'i have been reported as disallowing the uprooting and burning of enemy trees.

3. The jurists agree among themselves that what is obtained as war spoils without a fight taking place—technically known as *Fai*— is left to the discretion of the ruler. It is not obligatory on him to divide it among the fighters as other war spoils are divided that are obtained after a fight. They have used the Banu Nadir incident to substantiate this position, and some Qur'ānic Verses.[72]

4. The Prophetic stand towards Banu Nadir gives us the rule that the breaking of a convent is equal to declaration of war.

Badr II

In Sha'bān of the fourth year after *Hijrah*, the Prophet ﷺ left Madinah to keep the appointment that Abu Sufyān had promised at Uhud. He had one thousand and five hundred men with him along with ten horses. He went as far as Badr. He waited for the pagans for eight days.

The pagans too came out led by Abu Sufyān. However, he went no further than a place called Marr Az-Zahrān, encamping near the Majannah waters, no more than forty km from Makkah. He returned from there on the pretext that it was a year of drought. His decision however betrayed his fear of the Muslims despite the setback at Uhud.[73]

[72] See Nawawi's commentary on *Sahih Muslim* (12/50); Buti: *Fiqhus-Siratin-Nabawiyyah*, pp. 204-205, who discussed the differences among the jurists over the lands taken as booty; *Al-Umm* (7/324); and *Dawābitul-Maslahati fish-Shari'atil-Islamiyah* by Buti, pp. 170-171.

[73] This is what Ibn Ishāq said, a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/292). As regards *Al-Wāqidi* (1/384) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/59) both of whom reported

The Dhātur-Riqa' Expedition[74]

Biographers and historians have differed between themselves over the date of this expedition. Bukhāri[75] believes it happened after Khayber. But Ibn Ishāq[76] thinks it happened after the affair of Banu Nadir. It has also been suggested that it took place after Khandaq battle in the fourth year after *Hijrah*. Wāqidi[77] and Ibn Sa'd[78] say that it took place in Muharram of the fifth year after *Hijrah*. Abu Ma'shar[79] believes it took place after the Banu Nadir affair and that of Khandaq. Ibn Hajar[80] was inclined towards the opinions of Bukhāri and Abu Ma'shar. That is because it is reported that Abu Musa Ash'ari ﷺ was present in this battle about whom it is known that he had come down from Abyssinia immediately after Khayber. Abu Hurayrah ﷺ was also present in

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Mu'allaq reports–they mentioned that it was on the first of Dhul-Qa'dah forty-five months after the *Hijrah*. Ibn Ishāq however is preferable to Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd when he does not state the accreditation and when Wāqidi does not fall in the chain.

74 Biographers differed in naming this expedition, and the outweighing opinion is what Abu Musa Ash'ari mentioned in the *Sahih*, that it was so called because they wrapped their feet with rags after their footwear wore off, because of long walks as for every camel there were six riders who rode in turns. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/309/H. 4128). A *Hadith* says that he disliked it bringing to light because it was a matter of devotion that he did seeking the rewards of Allāh. This is shows how our righteous ancestors understood the meaning of *Jihād*. Nawawi said in connection with this attitude of Ash'ari, "It is preferable for a Muslim to conceal his good deeds and those things as bother him in carrying out the obligations, showing only those that wisdom requires to be shown, such as to make manifest the wisdom behind it, or to encourage others to follow, etc." This explains the fact of some of the *Salaf* making public some of their deeds. See Nawawi's commentary on *Muslim* (12/197-198).

75 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/305/The Book of *Maghazi*/Dhātur-Riqa' Expedition) a *Mu'allaq report*.

76 *Ibn Hishām* (3/285).

77 *Al-Maghāzi* (1/395).

78 *At-Tabaqāt* (2/61).

79 This was mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/304).

80 See the arguments of Ibn Hajar to the effect that it was after Khayber. See *Al-Fath* (15/304, 305, 311).

this battle; he had embraced Islam at the time of Khayber expedition. Also, it was during this expedition that the Prophet ﷺ shortened his prayers on account of fear (*Salātul-Khawf*). This prayer had not been instituted until Khandaq, rather it was ordered at 'Usfān, during the Hudaybiyah expedition in the sixth year after *Hijrah*.

On the other hand, Dr. Buti[81] is certain that Dhātur–Riqa' took place before the Khandaq battle. His argument is that it was at Khandaq, that moved by the Prophet's hunger, Jābir ﷺ had sought the Prophet's permission to go home in order to ask his wife to prepare some food for him. It was in response to Jābir's invitation, which was meant for him alone, that the Prophet ﷺ had announced in the army that everyone was invited. The food, although prepared for a few, proved to be enough for the whole army, and, in fact, there was some left over. The Prophet ﷺ told Jābir's wife, "Eat thereof and send across as gift to others. The people are hungry." It is also proved by reports in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim* that the Prophet ﷺ asked Jabir in the Dhātur-Riqa' expedition if he was married and he said, "Yes." This means the Prophet ﷺ didn't know about his marriage until then. Dr. Buti rejects Ibn Hajar's arguments that it took place after Khayber. The answer to Ibn Hajar's argument that the *Salātul-Khawf* was instituted during the Khandaq battle is that he only repeated a prayer that was not done on time. It is possible that the Prophet ﷺ delayed offering the prayer because of heavy onslaught of arrows which did not allow him to move away from his position and, probably, the enemies were in the direction of the *Qiblah*. Or, maybe he delayed it on purpose to demonstrate how it was to be done when not done on time. Many scholars and historians have also said about Abu Musa's incident that perhaps he meant another battle when he called it Dhātur-Riqa'. This is strengthened by his words, "We went with the Prophet in an expedition while we were six men with a single camel between us that we rode in turns." But, the Dhātur-Riqa' expedition that we are talking about was participated by a large number of people.

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81 *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 210.

Dr. Hakami[82] and Dr. 'Umari[83] are inclined to be with Bukhāri and Ibn Hajar. However, this author is inclined to be with Dr. Buti for, his evidential material is in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. In addition, Bukhari's opinion is conditional and his only argument is that Abu Musa came to Madinah after Khayber expedition. Buti has answered to this argument by saying that the reference is to more than one expedition of the same name.

As regards the reasons of this expedition, Wāqidi writes that someone came into town with his goods. He informed the Prophet's Companions that Anmār and Tha'labah of Ghatafān were assembling forces against them. The reports reached the Prophet ﷺ. He appointed 'Uthmān bin 'Affān ؓ as his deputy in Madinah and went in their pursuit. Ibn Sa'd also mentions this as the reason. But it is clear that he took the report from his mentor Wāqidi. Something else tells us about the Ghatafān's enmity towards the Prophet ﷺ. Ghaws said to the Ghatafān and Muhārib tribes, "Should I not assassinate Muhammad for you?" They said, "Sure, sure. But how will you do it?" He replied, "I'll accomplish it in complete secret." However, when he attempted to do it, Allāh (ﷻ) protected His Messenger by a miracle. The narration is from Wāqidi and is trustworthy.

In any case, no fighting took place during this expedition between the Muslims and the pagans of Ghatafān. But both feared each other and, and the Muslims resorted to *Salātul-Khawf*. It was offered in the following manner: A group formed rows behind the Prophet ﷺ while another kept watch over the enemy. When the Prophet ﷺ had offered one cycle with the group that was with him, he remained in the standing position while his first group followers completed their prayer. Then they went back to the battlefront to allow others to join up with him. He offered a second cycle with them after which he remained seated while they completed their second cycle.[84] Other reports say that he did two cycles with the first

[82] *Marwiyyātul-Hudaybiyah*, pp. 73-86.

[83] *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni; Al-Jihād*, p. 130.

[84] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/308/H. 4127).

group and then another two with the second. Thus he himself prayed four cycles while they did two each.[85] Dr. Buti[86] writes: "One way to reconcile the two versions would be to say that the Prophet ﷺ offered the *Salātul-Khawf* more than once: once he offered the prayers as described in the earlier part, and another time as described in the second part.

This prayer was offered in the oasis that was about two days'[87] travel distance from Madinah. Several important incidents took place during this expedition. They are as follows:

(a) The Bedouin's Story

Bukhāri,[88] Muslim[89] and others[90] have reported through Jābir that during their return journey the Muslims felt fatigued and decided to have a siesta. As they dismounted, they scattered and everyone found a shade for himself under a tree. The Prophet ﷺ too sought the shade of a tree and hung his sword by its branch. Jabir reported: So we went into a short nap. We were woken up by the Prophet's voice calling us unto him. We went up to him and found a Bedouin sitting by his side. The Prophet ﷺ said, "This man took my sword as I slept. I woke up and found him hovering over me with the sword. He asked me, 'Who will save you from me?' I said, 'Allāh!' Here he is by my side." The Prophet ﷺ did not however take any action against the Bedouin whose name was Ghawrath bin Hārith.

[85] *Muslim* (2/576/H. 311).

[86] *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 207/footnotes. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/301).

[87] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/305).

[88] *Al-Fath* (15/315-316/H. 4135, 4136) where the name of the Bedouin is mentioned.

[89] *Sahih Muslim* (1/576/The Book of *Salātul-Musāfirin*/H. 843).

[90] See Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (7/20-22); Ibn Ishāq, through a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. But there falls in it 'Amr bin 'Ubayd Qadari about whom Ibn Kathir said that his narratives may not be accepted because of his innovations. Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/95); *Ibn Hishām* (3/287) and *Al-Isābah* (3/185).

Qatādah[91] and Ibn Ishāq[92] have said that Allāh's Words,

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ٱذْكُرُوا۟ نِعْمَتَ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ هَمَّ قَوْمٌ أَن يَبْسُطُوٓا۟ إِلَيْكُمْ أَيْدِيَهُمْ فَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَهُمْ عَنكُمْ﴾

"Believers, recall Allāh's favors on you when a people desired to stretch their hands towards you, but He prevented their hands from (reaching) you,"[93]

were revealed in connection with this incident.

Musaddad's narration coming through Jabir says that Ghawrath promised the Prophet ﷺ that he will not fight against him nor accompany those who fought him. So the Prophet ﷺ let him go. When he went to his people he said, "I am coming from the best of men."

Lessons

This incident provides a good evidence of the Prophet's authenticity as a Messenger as well as proofs of his courage, faith in Allāh, and patience in face of ignorant people.[94]

(b) The Story of those on Guard

While returning from the Dhātur-Riqa' campaign, the Muslims captured a pagan woman. Her husband vowed that he

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[91] Being a report of 'Abdur-Razzāq taking his chain to Jabir through Ma'mar as mentioned by Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (3/58-59), and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (10/106), its chain is authentic. There are other reports in this connection with the meaning attached to the Verse as well as the causes of revelation. Tabari believes that the Verses were released because of the Jews of Banu Nadir when they attempted to kill the Prophet ﷺ. See the *Tafsir* (10/107-108). See also *Zādul-Masir* (2/308).

[92] *Ibn Hishām* (3/287-288) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain but there falls in it 'Amr bin 'Ubayd Qadari.

[93] *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 11.

[94] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (15/317).

would not return until he had killed one of the Prophet's men. He stole his way through at night into their camp. The Prophet ﷺ had placed two men on guard, while the others slept. They were 'Abbād bin Bishr and 'Ammār bin Yāsir ﵄. The man shot an arrow at 'Abbād while he stood in prayers. 'Abbād removed the arrow from his body but continued to pray. The man sent in two more arrows. But 'Abbād did not give up. He completed his prayer before waking up his partner. 'Ammār said, "Glory to Allāh. Why didn't you warn me?" He replied, "I was reciting a chapter of the Qur'ān and didn't like to terminate it. But when he kept shooting, I finished my cycle to wake you up. And, by Allāh, if not for a duty to the Prophet ﷺ, I would have died before breaking off the prayers."[95]

Lessons

In the story of these two great Companions, the nature of Islamic *Jihād* is manifested. It tells us something about how the Prophet ﷺ had trained and educated his Companions. 'Abbād didn't wish to cut short his prayers because of the painful arrows that he received. He only did that when he felt that his duty to the Prophet ﷺ required it. This has a great and remarkable lesson for us about Islamic *Jihād* and devotional acts, as understood by the first-generation Muslims; something that cannot be compared with our own attitudes today.[96]

(c) The Story of Jabir's Camel

Bukhāri,[97] Muslim[98] and others, as well as biographers such as

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[95] Reported by *Al-Bukhāri* (1/52/*Wudu*), a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report giving it a tint of weakness by saying, "It is reported..." It is a report from Jābir; Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/290-292). Others also recorded a similar report.

[96] See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 213-214.

[97] *Al-Fath* (9/172/H. 2097). What we have mentioned is the substance of the report.

[98] *Sahih Muslim* (2/1089/H. 1466).

Ibn Ishāq[99] and others have reported that Jābir ﷺ was lingering behind during the return journey. The Prophet ﷺ asked him the reason. He said his camel was not doing well. The Prophet ﷺ came down from his mount and stroked the camel with his driving cane. Then he supplicated for him and told him to ride on, and lo, the camel became one of the fastest. It kept overtaking the Prophet's camel and Jābir kept pulling it back. The Prophet ﷺ asked Jabir if he was married. He replied that he had recently married an (oldish) woman for whom it was the second marriage. The Prophet ﷺ asked, "Why not a younger woman you could sport with, and she with you?" Jābir explained that he had little sisters and wished someone could take care of them. The Prophet ﷺ told him to manage his affairs well when back in Madinah. Then he asked him if he would sell his camel. Jābir agreed and sold it to him for some gold. The next day when he brought the camel to him, the Prophet ﷺ ordered Bilāl ﷺ to hand over the gold. Bilāl weighed it out and tilted the balance in his favor. On their way back, the Prophet ﷺ called him and returned his camel to him as a gift. According to Ibn Ishāq, the Prophet ﷺ told Jābir when he explained why he had married a previously married woman, "You did the right thing, Allāh willing." He also reports that he said, "When we reach Sirār,[100] we shall slaughter a goat, stay the whole of the day there so she (Jābir's wife) can shake the dust off her cushions (in preparation of his arrival)." Jābir said, "By Allāh, we do not own cushions." He said, "You shall have them soon." That version also reports Jābir as saying about the gold he received, "By Allāh, it kept growing with me, and its place could be spotted in our house..."

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[99] *Ibn Hishām* (3/288-290) through a *Hasan* chain. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/99) that this *Hadith*, coming from Jabir, has different versions, and there are differences regarding the price of the camel and terms set for the transaction, details of which are better suited for law books. This particular incident is bound to the Tabuk campaign, and it is very unlikely that it happened more than once.

[100] A place three miles away from Madinah on the road to Iraq. See *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (3/398).

Lessons

The above incident fully reveals the Prophet's regard, love, and care for his Companions. His interest in their personal affairs and his material and moral supports stand out. He knew for instance that Jābir was lagging behind because of a sick mount besides which he did not owe another. He was aware that his father had been martyred in the Uhud battle, leaving behind a number of children to look after. The Prophet ﷺ used the opportunity to express his understanding of the situation and help him out.[101]

The Dumatul-Jandal Expedition

Most biographers and historians[102] agree that this expedition was undertaken in the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal,[103] in the fifth year after *Hijrah*. In fact, some have fixed the date as the twenty-fifth of the month, forty-nine months after *Hijrah*.[104]

Ibn Ishāq doesn't mention the causes. But what Wāqidi[105] and Ibn Sa'd[106] state can be briefly put as follows: The Prophet received the news that there was a large group of people in Dumatul-Jandal who were harassing small-time traders[107] who brought food grains and oil to Madinan markets. The area also had a large trading station well frequented by traders. Quite a few of the surrounding Arabs also allied themselves with them and they were all planning to attack Madinah. Therefore, the Prophet ﷺ called his men and started out with a thousand of them. In this journey their guide was a man called Madhkur who belonged to the Banu 'Udhrah tribe. The

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[101] See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 212-213.

[102] Ibn Ishāq and Ibn Hishām, *Mu'allaq – Sirat Ibn Hishām* (3/297-298); *Al-Wāqidi* (1/402), and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/62), also *Mu'allaq*.

[103] Wāqidi determined these nights (1/402).

[104] This was determined by Wāqidi, followed by his student and scribe Ibn Sa'd.

[105] *Al-Maghāzi* (1/402-404).

[106] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/62-63).

[107] Those days the Nabatians used to carry food grains and oil to Madinah. See *An-Nihāyah* (3/22).

Prophet ﷺ seized some of the enemy flock before arriving at Dumatul-Jandal. There he seized some of their men while others fled. But, by the time he arrived at Dumatul-Jandal proper, local people dispersed, leaving the place completely vacant. He encamped there for a few days and sent smaller groups to capture their cattle wherever found, concentrating on camels alone. Muhammad bin Maslamah was the sole exception. He captured one of their men and then presented Islam to him. The man readily became a Muslim. The Prophet ﷺ returned after a few days of stay there.[108]

[108] Wāqidi added one more reason for this expedition, viz., the Prophet ﷺ wished to get close to Shām in order to frighten the Caesar—*Al-Maghāzi* (1/403).

Chapter 9

Muraysi' Expedition (Banu Mustaliq)

Genealogists agree that Banu Mustaliq were a clan belonging to the Khuzā'ah tribe, and that Khuzā'ah themselves were an offshoot of Qahtān of Yemen.[1] The two branches join together at one point with the Aws and Khazraj through 'Amr bin 'Āmir, one of the two great-grandfathers of the Aws and Khazraj, and the fourth for Banu Mustaliq.[2] They inhabited the Qudayd and 'Usfān[3] areas in the middle of the Khuzā'ah territory which lay in between Marr Az-Zahrān[4] and Abwa'[5] areas, between Makkah and Madinah. Obviously, this being the trade route, it enjoyed strategic importance. Their importance, therefore, was not lost upon the Muslims who kept good relations with them, despite the fact that Khuzā'ah were polytheists who had a deity called Manāt installed among them at a place called Mushallal in Qudayd. In fact, this deity was held in such esteem that the Arabs used to perform pilgrimage to it. They were close to the Makkan territory and had never been in league with the Quraysh. This was for two reasons:

[1] See Nuwayri: *Nihāyhtul-Arab* (2/332), Qalqashandi: *Qalā'idul-Jumān*, p. 93, *Ibn Hishām* (1/136).

[2] Khalifah bin Khayyāt: *At-Tabaqāt*, p. 76, 107.

[3] Harbi: *Al-Manāsik*, pp. 458-463.

[4] Lies thirty kilometers away from Makkah and three kilometers east of Masturah. See 'Abdullah Āl Bassām, *Taysirul-'Allām Sharh 'Umdatul-Ahkām* (1/584).

[5] Lies 240 kilometers away from Makkah—see Quraybi: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Bani Mustaliq*, pp. 54-58.

1. They had an old relationship and peace treaties with 'Abdul-Muttalib, the Prophet's grandfather. Their old rivalry with the Quraysh had resulted in their ouster from Makkah in ancient times.[6] That was not forgotten and had led to a lasting struggle between them and Banu Bakr of Kinanāh. The latter were allied to the Quraysh. This had led them to a treaty with 'Abdul-Muttalib. It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ reconfirmed this treaty when the Khuzā'ah came to him at Hudaybiyah in the sixth year after *Hijrah*.[7]

Probably, it was the presence of Manāt deity among them, and the material and moral advantage they drew from it that Islam's progress was restricted in their territory and especially among the Banu Mustaliq.[8]

The first time that the Khuzā'ah people demonstrated their animosity toward Islam was when they helped the Quraysh[9] in their raid on Madinah resulting in the battle of Uhud.[10] And, when the Quraysh inflicted defeat upon the Muslims, the Banu Mustaliq felt encouraged. Their chief Hārith bin Abu Dirār began to collect arms and men and encourage the adjoining tribes to join up with him for an attack on Madinah.

When the Prophet ﷺ got wind of their intentions, he first sent Buraydah bin Husayb of the Aslam tribe for an assessment of the situation. Buraydah went up to them pretending to join them in their efforts; he got first hand information of their intentions and presented a report to the Prophet ﷺ.[11]

On the second last day of Sha'bān, of the fifth year after *Hijrah*,[12] the Prophet ﷺ himself marched out of Madinah towards Banu Mustaliq, in the company of 700 fighters.[13] They had thirty horsemen with them.[14]

Banu Mustaliq were among those who had received the Islamic message. Yet they had joined the Quraysh in their raid at Uhud. They never failed to join hands with the enemies of the Muslims. Bukhāri[15] and Muslim[16] have reported that the Prophet ﷺ attacked them in their unawareness with their cattle at the waters. He killed some of their fighting men and captured their women and children. Juwayriyah the daughter of Hārith bin Abu Dirār was captured during that sweeping raid.

Ibn Ishāq[17] has reported, although through weak reports, that the fighting took place at the waters of Muraysi' where Banu Mustaliq were defeated. Some of them were killed while their women and children were taken prisoners. They were divided among the Muslims. However, narrations in *Sahih* works are more trustworthy which of course we accept.

Wāqidi[18] writes that the Muslims killed some ten men of Banu

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[6] *Ibn Hishām* (1/173) through an authentic chain, Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (14/20/ The Book of *Ahādith Anbiya'*.

[7] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/781-782), Ya'qubi: *Tārikh* (1/278-279).

[8] See 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*: *Al-Jihād*, p. 94.

[9] Those not of the Quraysh but who joined them. They were 'Udal and Dish, offspring of Khuzaymah.

[10] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/200).

[11] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/63) through chains that cannot be distinguished between those that have Wāqidi and those who do not.

[12] This is the outweighing opinion, which is what Musa bin 'Uqbah said, narrating it from Zuhri and 'Urwah. See *Al-Bidāyah* (4/176) and (3/265), and the *Sunan Al-Kubra* by Bayhaqi (9/54). His chain does not follow the route of *'Abādilah* ('Abdullah bin 'Abbās, 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, 'Abdullah bin Mas'ud, 'Abdullah bin 'Amr bin 'Ās), but has Ibn Lahiy'ah, and Muhammad bin Fulayh who was reliable but given to doubts. 'Uqbah's words were traced by Hākim and Abu Sa'eed as in *Al-Fath* (15/318/The Book of *Maghāzi*). See also Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (4/44). As regards Bukhāri's statement that it was in the fourth year after *Hijrah*, it appears as if it is a slip of his pen as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/318). 'Uqbah was followed in this regard by: *Wāqidi* (1/404); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/63) and Abu Ma'shar Sindi, as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/318).

As for Ibn Ishāq, he mentioned that it was during Sha'bān of the sixth year after *Hijrah – Ibn Hishām*, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). This is contradicted by what is in the *Sahihayn* which say that Sa'd bin Mu'ādh participated in this campaign and attained martyrdom in the campaign of Banu Qurayzah immediately after the battle of the Ditch and that took place in Shawwāl, the fifth year after *Hijrah*. This will be discussed later. See the discussion of Ibn Hajar (15/319).

[13] Dhahabi: *Tārikhul-Islam, Al-Maghāzi*, p. 259.

[14] *Al-Wāqidi* (1/405).

[15] *Al-Fath* (10/264/H. 2541).

[16] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1356/H. 1730).

[17] *Ibn Hishām* (3/402) with a *Mursal* chain.

[18] *Al-Maghāzi* (1/410).

Mustaliq, and captured the rest of them at the waters. They were some 200 families. They also captured 2000 camels and 5000 goats. Ibn Ishāq[19] however has it that they captured 100 families which seems to be correct. Zurqāni[20] thinks they were more than 700. The two figures could be reconciled if we consider that a family is normally more than one person.[21]

One of the Muslims was martyred. He was of the Banu Kalb, named Hishām bin Subābah, Qays bin Subābah's brother. He was accidentally struck by a group belonging to 'Ubādah bin Sāmit who thought he was of the enemy. Qays came down from Makkah claiming to be a Muslim and demanded blood money. He was paid the blood money. But he wasn't satisfied with that. He killed his brother's killer and escaped to Makkah, becoming an apostate. The Prophet ﷺ had declared his blood lawful when he entered Makkah triumphant and so Numaylah bin 'Abdullah killed him, although he belonged to the same tribe.[22]

A group of hypocrites had also accompanied the Muslims in this expedition. As usual they created trouble: two incidents are worthy of note. One, they tried to incite the *Ansār* against the *Muhājir*. Second, they accused 'Āishah ؓ of misdemeanor: what is known as the *Ifk* incident.

The First Incident

Zayd bin Arqam and Jābir bin 'Abdullah narrate this story. Zayd ؓ said, "I was in an expedition[23] when I heard 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy say, 'Do not spend on the men around the Prophet so that

[19] *Ibn Hishām* (3/409) through a *Hasan* chain.

[20] *Sharhul-Muwāhibi Al-Ladunniyyah* (2/117) without any attribution, but rather by saying, "... said some of my teachers." See also 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 97.

[21] *Usdul-Ghābah* (5/400).

[22] *Usdul-Ghābah* (5/363); *Al-Isābah* (3/574, 603); Ibn Ishāq, a *Mu'allaq* report– *Ibn Hishām* (3/406) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/407-408).

[23] Other reports make it clear that it was the Banu Mustaliq campaign. See Ahmad's *Musnad:* (3/292-293) through a reliable chain, and Tirmidhi:

they disperse. If we return to the city the nobles among us shall expel the ignoble ones.' I mentioned his words to my uncle,[24] or 'Umar, and it was mentioned to the Prophet. He asked for me for a firsthand report. Thereafter he sent for 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy and his companions. They swore that they didn't say any such thing. So, the Prophet lay the lie on me. I was struck with grief like never before and stayed limited to my place. My uncle taunted me, 'What was your objective that the Prophet ultimately laid the lie on you and now hates you?' Then Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿إِذَا جَاءَكَ الْمُنَافِقُونَ. . .﴾

"When the hypocrites come to you..."[25]

The Prophet sent for me and said, 'You spoke the truth, O Zayd.'[26] He added, 'This is someone whose hearing Allāh vouchsafed.'[27] According to another report, 'Your ear proved itself true young man.'"[28]

Jābir's report is in greater detail. He also referred to the words of Ibn Ubaiy. He said, "We were in an expedition. One of the *Muhājir* pushed aside an *Ansāri*.[29] The *Ansāri* called out, 'O *Ansār*.' And the *Muhājir* cried out, 'O *Muhājirun*.' The Prophet ﷺ heard of it and remarked, 'Why are they raising pre-Islamic calls?' He was told

Sunan (5/90) who remarked: "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* report."

[24] He means Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, the chief of Khazraj, and he is not his real uncle. His real uncle was Thābit bin Qays. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (18/84).

[25] *Surat Al-Munāfiqun*: 1. The Verse was revealed on the way back to Madinah from the campaign as in the *Hadith* of *Tirmidhi* in his *Sunan* (5/88) who said, "A *Hasan-Sahih* report." This is also in the narrative of Abul-Aswad, coming from 'Urwah and Abu Sa'eed as stated by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/285). See the report of Ka'b bin Mālik in the second pledge at 'Aqabah.

[26] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/284/H. 4900), *Muslim* (4/2114/H. 2772).

[27] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/292/H. 4906).

[28] One of the (*Mursal*) reports of Hasan Basri, as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/286).

[29] The name of the *Muhājir* mentioned by Ibn Ishāq according to a *Mursal* report, was: Jahjah bin Mas'ud Ghifāri, he was hired by Ibn Khattāb, and

that one of the *Muhājir* had pushed aside an *Ansāri*. He said, 'Cut it out. It stinks.' But Ibn Ubaiy remarked, 'Did they do that? By God, when we return to Madinah the honored ones among us shall expel the dishonored ones.' This statement reached the Prophet ﷺ. 'Umar ﷺ got up and said, 'O Messenger of Allāh, allow me to behead this hypocrite.' He replied, 'Leave him alone. Let not the people say, 'The Messenger cuts down his own followers.' When the *Muhājir* first arrived at Madinah, they were fewer in number than the *Ansār*. But, later they became the majority.''[30]

A few strong reports suggest[31] that Ibn Ubaiy said these words during the Tabuk expedition. But there has been some confusion, for he was never there in the Tabuk expedition.[32]

Subsequent to the incident, the Prophet ﷺ desired to cool the tempers and so ordered them to march. He kept them marching the whole of that day, the following night, and continued into the second day until the heat became unbearable. Then he ordered them to encamp. They all fell into uncontrollable sleep. This was to divert the minds and not allow them to talk over the issue and return to differences amongst themselves.[33]

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the name of the *Ansāri* was: Sinān bin Wabr Juhani, allied to Banu 'Awf bin Khazraj—*Ibn Hishām* (3/402). Ibn Hajar mentioned the name as Jahjah bin Qays, called as the son of Sa'eed Ghifāri—*Al-Fath* (18/289).

[30] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/28/H. 3518) and (18/289-290/H. 4905), *Muslim* (4/1998/H. 2584). According to the *Hadith* reported by Muslim, the Prophet ﷺ said: "A man should help his brother whether he is just or unjust, if he is unjust, he should stop him, and if he is just, he should support him." According to the narrative with Ibn Ishāq, with a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain, whose transmitters are reliable, Ibn Salul said, "Did they do that? They drove us and multiplied amongst us. By God, nothing fits well the situation between us and the vagabonds of Quraysh except what the ancients said, "Fatten your dog and it will kill you." See *Ibn Hishām* (3/402-403).

[31] *At-Tirmidhi* (5/89/The Book of *Tafsir*). He remarked: "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* narrative," and Nasa'i: *Sunan* (3/201/*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*) whose narrators are of the *Sunan*.

[32] See Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (4/369) and Ibn Hajar's discussion in *Al-Fath* (18/290).

[33] Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain but with trustworthy

When Ibn Ubaiy's son 'Abdullah came to know what his father had said, he went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "O Messenger of Allāh. I have come to know that you might order my father killed. If that is so, allow me to do the job. I'll bring his head to you. The Khazraj know that in their entire tribe there is no one as good to his father as I am. I am afraid you will order someone else to kill him. It should not happen that I look at my father's killer walking about among the people and kill a believer for the life of a disbeliever, in turn entering into the Fire." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Rather, we shall be soft with him and do him good so long as he lives."[34] Later, at the gates of Madinah, 'Abdullah wouldn't allow his father to enter until the Prophet ﷺ allowed that he be let in.[35]

After that incident Ibn Ubaiy became the target of criticism and reproach by his own men. When the Prophet ﷺ came to know of that he told 'Umar, "Can you see now 'Umar? Had you killed him that day, it would have stirred commotion. But today, if I asked people to kill him, they would do it (without fear of retaliation)." Umar ﷺ replied, "I realize the wisdom in your action against my suggestion."[36]

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narrators—*Ibn Hishām* (3/404). It has supporting evidence in a *Hadith* of Ibn Abu Hātim which itself is a *Mursal* report of 'Urwah and 'Umar bin Thābit Ansāri. It is considered as a strong *Mursal* report as said Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (18/289). It has its origin in the *Sahihayn* which is a report of Zayd bin Arqam and Jābir bin 'Abdullah. Thus the report acquires the status of *Hasan li Ghayrihi* as said Dr. Quraybi in *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Banu Mustaliq*, p. 190.

[34] Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/405-406), it was also reported by Ibn Mandah as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Isābah* (2/327); Tabarāni as in *Al-Majma'* (9/318). Said Haythami, "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih* works except for 'Urwah bin Zubayr who never met 'Abdullah bin 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy." Thus the report is *Mursal*. It is also in *Al-Bazzār* as in *Al-Majma'* (9/318). Haythami remarked: "Its narrators are reliable."

[35] *Tirmidhi*: *Sunan* (5/90) who added: "This *Hadith* is Good & Sound (*Hasan-Sahih*)."

[36] Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/406) and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/418).

The Second Incident: The *Ifk* (Slander)

When the first attempt failed to provoke a quarrel between the Muslims, the hypocrites spun another story to kindle pre-Islamic hatred among them. Herewith the incident in brief:

It was 'Āishah's turn that she should accompany the Prophet ﷺ in this expedition.[37] During the return journey the Muslims stopped near Madinah for rest. She left her camel litter for a while for a personal need. When she returned she discovered that her necklace was missing. She traced back her steps looking for it. When she returned again, she found that the people had lifted her litter, placed it on the camel and marched off. She was so light that they didn't feel she was not inside the litter. When she found no one around, she sat down where her camel was, hoping for someone to discover her absence and come back. Safwān bin Mu'attal happened to pass by. He recognized her as he had seen her before the commandments concerning the veil were revealed. He let her mount his camel and then dutifully led it to Madinah, entering after the Prophet ﷺ had entered the town.

The hypocrites fell upon this incident and spun a story alleging misconduct on 'Āishah's part. Ibn Ubaiy played the leading role. Others who got involved in the slander were Mistah bin Uthāthah, Hamnah bint Jahsh and Hassān bin Thābit.

The Prophet ﷺ was mortified by the spread of the rumor. He expressed his trust in his wife and in Safwān before his leading Companions. Sa'd bin Mu'ādh ﷺ offered to kill anyone who spoke ill of the Prophet's wife, if he happened to be of Aws. However, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah didn't appreciate Ibn Mu'ādh's pledge, for one of Ubādah's people was involved in spreading the slander. The argument between the two nearly developed into a fight between the two families of the tribe, exactly as the hypocrites had hoped. But the Prophet ﷺ intervened and put out the fire of dissension.

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[37] The Messenger of Allāh ﷺ used to draw lots and she accompanied whom the lot favored. This is a narrative of Bazzār through a *Hasan* chain, as mentioned by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (9/230) and with whom Suyuti agreed in *Ad-Durr (5/27).*

'Āishah ﷺ had sought to spend a few days with her parents. It was there that she heard of the slander against her. She lost her sleep. She expected that Allāh (ﷻ) would reveal her innocence through a dream of the Prophet ﷺ, considering herself too insignificant for a revelation to come down about her.

After a month's suffering on her part and on the part of the Prophet ﷺ, the revelation came down announcing her innocence and exposing the people's role in this slander. It said,

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ جَآءُو بِٱلْإِفْكِ عُصْبَةٌ مِّنكُمْ ...﴾

"Surely, those of you who indulged in the slander, were a group from among yourself..."[38]

Abu Bakr ﷺ used to monetarily support his nephew Mistah. When he came to know of his role in the slander, he swore that he wouldn't spend anything on him thereafter. But a Verse came down saying,

﴿وَلَا يَأْتَلِ أُوْلُواْ ٱلْفَضْلِ مِنكُمْ وَٱلسَّعَةِ أَن يُؤْتُوٓاْ أُوْلِى ٱلْقُرْبَىٰ ...﴾ إلى قوله ﴿أَلَا تُحِبُّونَ أَن يَغْفِرَ ٱللَّهُ لَكُمْ﴾

"And let not those of wealth and virtue among you swear not to give to the kin ... Do you not love that Allāh should forgive you?"[39]

With that revelation, Abu Bakr ﷺ resumed[40] his help to Mistah hoping for Allāh's forgiveness.

The Qur'ān reproached those simpleminded people who fell into the trap laid by the hypocrites, such as Hamnah, Mistah and Hassān. It said,

﴿لَّوْلَآ إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ ظَنَّ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَٱلْمُؤْمِنَٰتُ بِأَنفُسِهِمْ خَيْرًا وَقَالُواْ هَٰذَآ إِفْكٌ مُّبِينٌ﴾

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[38] *Surat Al-Nur*: 11-20.

[39] Ibid: 22

[40] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (18/57-58/H. 4750); *Muslim* (4/2129/H. 2770) which has the most material in this regard; and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (18/89).

'Why, when you heard of it, did not the believing men and women think good of themselves and say, 'This is clearly a slander?''[41]

Allāh (ﷻ) also recorded the exemplary character of those whose reaction befitted the character of a believer, who were awake to the mischief, and trusted the household of the Prophet ﷺ. Abu Ayyub Ansāri and his wife were among them. Allāh (ﷻ) revealed about them,

﴿وَلَوْلَآ إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ قُلْتُم مَّا يَكُونُ لَنَآ أَن نَّتَكَلَّمَ بِهَٰذَا سُبْحَٰنَكَ هَٰذَا بُهْتَٰنٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"And why, when you heard of it, did you not say, 'It is not for us to speak of this. Glory to You, O Allāh, this is a great slander?!''[42]

Wāhidi[43] has recorded a narration of 'Āishah ؓ which deals with the context of revelation of this Verse. She said, "When Abu Ayyub Ansāri's wife asked Abu Ayyub, 'Have you heard the story that is being circulated?' He asked back, 'What story is it?' She told him about the slander. He reacted in words, 'It does not behoove us that we say such a thing. Glory to Allāh. This is a great slander.' So, continues 'Āishah, Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿وَلَوْلَآ إِذْ سَمِعْتُمُوهُ قُلْتُم مَّا يَكُونُ لَنَآ أَن نَّتَكَلَّمَ بِهَٰذَا سُبْحَٰنَكَ هَٰذَا بُهْتَٰنٌ عَظِيمٌ﴾

"And why, when you heard of it, did you not say, 'It is not for us to speak of this. Glory to You, O Allāh, this is a great slander.''

Bukhāri reported that when one of the *Ansāri* heard the allegation he remarked, "Glory to Allāh. It does not behoove us that we say such a thing. Glory to Allāh, it is a great slander."

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[41] *Surat An-Nur*: 12.
[42] *Surat An-Nur*: 16.
[43] *Asbābul-Nuzul*, p. 218.

Explaining the above, Ibn Hajar wrote, "Ibn Ishāq has said that it was Abu Ayyub who said these words. Hakim also traced the words to him. But Tabrāni has a report in a chapter titled *Musnadush-Shāmiyyin*, as well as Abu Bakr Ājurri, tracing the report through 'Ata Khurasāni, Zuhri, 'Urwah and 'Āishah ؓ that the Verse that Ibn Ishāq[44] spoke of was "Glory to Allāh, this is clearly a slander,"[45] and not, "this is a great slander."[46] In any case the meaning is the same, and they came down at one time, discussing the same issue. Therefore, there is nothing strange if they came down concerning the stand taken by Abu Ayyub and his wife. Wāqidi[47] agrees with Ibn Ishāq and adds that it came down referring to Umm Tufayl and her husband Ubaiy bin Ka'b.[48]

Sunayd's commentary on the Qur'ān has a *Mursal* report coming through Sa'eed bin Jubayr that when Sa'd bin Mu'ādh heard of the allegation, he remarked, "Glory to Allāh. This is a great slander."[49]

In sum, Wāhidi's report is strengthened by that of Ājurri, Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi, and thus it is, to say the least, of acceptable status.[50]

The Prophet ﷺ ordered Hassān, Mistāh and Hamnah[51] to undergo the punishment for slander. As for 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul, he could not be punished, although he had played the leading role because he did not leave any evidence against himself. He used to allow the matter to be discussed and then spread the words and opinions (as coming from others) and kept the gossip alive.[52]

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[44] *Al-Fath* (28/110/H. 7370).
[45] *Ibn Hishām* (3/418-419).
[46] *Surat An-Nur*: 12.
[47] *Surat An-Nur*: 16.
[48] *Maghāzi* (2/434-435).
[49] Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (28/110).
[50] See Dr. Quraybi in *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Bani Mustaliq*, p. 276.
[51] Reported by Bazzār, through a *Hasan* chain, as Haythami mentioned in *Al-Majma'* (9/230), and Bayhaqi in *Sunan Al-Kubra* through a *Hasan* chain (8/250).
[52] *Muslim* (4/2134/H. 2770).

When the Prophet ﷺ had returned to Madinah, Juwayriyah bint Hārith bin Abu Dirār went to the Prophet ﷺ and spoke to him about her high position among her tribesmen. She asked his help to pay up the price that her master Thābit bin Qays bin Shammās had set for her freedom. The Prophet ﷺ suggested that he pays up the price and then she marry him. She agreed.

When the Muslims came to know of the deal, they freed all those of her tribe who had been enslaved –some hundred of them- because they couldn't think of keeping someone in slavery whose tribeswoman was in the Prophet's marriage. Thus Juwayriyah proved to be the source of a great blessing for her tribesmen.[53] The freedom she gained was her dowry.

When her father Hārith came down to Madinah and requested the Prophet ﷺ that he set her free, the Prophet ﷺ gave her the choice. She decided to remain with him.[54]

In consequence, Hārith bin Abu Dirār and his people embraced Islam and the Prophet ﷺ appointed him over his tribe as the collector of *Zakāt* funds.[55]

Lessons from the Muraysi' Expedition

1. The legality of the division of spoils between the soldiers subsequent to the battle, after the removal of the fifth for Allāh and His Messenger ﷺ.
2. The handling of the social disturbance caused by Ibn Ubaiy

[53] The full report is in the *Sirat* of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/408-409).

[54] This is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāt in his *Tārikh*, p. 80, via a chain that is of the reliable narrators, but *Mursal*.

[55] Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/279) through a chain which has Dinār Kufi, who in any case was acceptable. Further, his narrative is strengthened by others of similar kind. There is one reported by Qatādah, although of *Hasan* chain, as recorded by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (26/476).

resting on a simple incident, demonstrated the Prophet's ability to handle such tricky situations. The result was that Ibn Ubaiy, who had carried the calumny forward, began to be reproached by his own followers.

3. The slander incident was only one of the many that were spun by the Prophet's enemies in order to distress him. It was Allāh's bounty on him and the believers that He unveiled their schemes. History recorded the exemplary attitudes of some of the Companions such as Abu Ayyub and his wife. They have set an example for the believers who might face situations of the same sort in their lives. After all, revelation has stopped, and now we have their good example alone to follow.

4. The incident also concealed some blessing in disguise. For instance, if the Prophet ﷺ had been himself the author of the Qur'ānic revelation, he would not have waited for a whole month (to bring down a revelation clearing 'Āishah). The Prophet's humanness came out clear. After the revelation had come down, the relationship between him and 'Āishah ؓ resumed its normal course and everybody was happy at the outcome after the intervening suffering. If the whole affair had not been Allāh's design, the Prophet's relationship with 'Āishah would never have normalized. Thus, the incident became a proof of the authenticity of the Prophet ﷺ.

5. The incident also proved the legality of punishment of those who slander chaste persons. It showed that it is unlawful to slander believing men and women, and that if someone does it, without sufficient proof, then, he deserves to be given eighty lashes.

6. It also demonstrated the legality of someone choosing a wife by lot to accompany him in a journey, in lieu of a random choice. This is more likely to be happily accepted; as proved by reports coming down in this regard.

7. Legality of a *Mujāhid* taking his wife with him in an expedition if the situation allows it.

When the Prophet ﷺ had returned to Madinah, Juwayriyah bint Hārith bin Abu Dirār went to the Prophet ﷺ and spoke to him about her high position among her tribesmen. She asked his help to pay up the price that her master Thābit bin Qays bin Shammās had set for her freedom. The Prophet ﷺ suggested that he pays up the price and then she marry him. She agreed.

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2. The handling of the social disturbance caused by Ibn Ubaiy resting on a simple incident, demonstrated the Prophet's ability to handle such tricky situations. The result was that Ibn Ubaiy, who had carried the calumny forward, began to be reproached by his own followers.
3. The slander incident was only one of the many that were spun by the Prophet's enemies in order to distress him. It was Allāh's bounty on him and the believers that He unveiled their schemes. History recorded the exemplary attitudes of some of the Companions such as Abu Ayyub and his wife. They have set an example for the believers who might face situations of the same sort in their lives. After all, revelation has stopped, and now we have their good example alone to follow.
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[53] The full report is in the *Sirat* of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/408-409).

[54] This is mentioned by Ibn Khayyāt in his *Tārikh*, p. 80, via a chain that is of the reliable narrators, but *Mursal*.

[55] Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/279) through a chain which has Dinār Kufi, who in any case was acceptable. Further, his narrative is strengthened by others of similar kind. There is one reported by Qatādah, although of *Hasan* chain, as recorded by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (26/476).

8. The Verses of *Surat An-Nur*, starting from, *"Verily, those of you who brought the slander are a group from among yourselves,"* until *"for them is forgiveness and an honorable reward,"* speak of the great position enjoyed by 'Āishah ﷺ. The Qur'ānic reproach has not been stronger for any other sin than those mentioned in connection with the slander.

Chapter **10**

Battle of the Ditch

Date

This expedition took place in Shawwāl of the fifth year after *Hijrah*. This is the opinion of Ibn Isḥāq[1] and those who followed him. It also happens to be the opinion of the great majority.[2] Wāqidi[3] has it however that it took place on a Wednesday, the eighth of Dhul-Qa'dah in the fifth year after *Hijrah*. Ibn Sa'd[4] has another opinion. He wrote, "Allāh responded to the Prophet's supplication and handed defeat to the enemies on a Wednesday of Dhul-Qa'dah in the fifth year after *Hijrah*. Nonetheless, Zuhri, Mālik bin Anas and Musa bin 'Uqbah have held that it took place in the fourth year after *Hijrah*.[5]

Scholars say that those who said that the battle took place in the

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[1] *Ibn Hishām* (3/298) without a chain.

[2] See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/105-106).

[3] *Maghāzi* (2/440) without a chain.

[4] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/65, 73) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain, one of the narrators was Kathir bin Zayd who was truthful but committed errors. Therefore the chain is weak although of the kind that those scholars accept who do not think that unless the weakness is of high order, and unless it is a matter of creed or law, such reports can be accepted.

[5] Ibn Kathir *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/105), *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/257/The Book of *Maghāzi*/chapter *Ghazwah Khandaq*) who quoted the words of Musa bin 'Uqbah, but Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), in the chapter heading. See also Fasawi: *Al-Ma'rifah wat-Tārikh* (3/258).

fourth year, counted the date from the first Muharram of the year in which *Hijrah*[6] took place. They discounted the months preceding it, until Rabi'ul-Awwal. So, according to them Badr battle took place in the first year, the Uhud battle in the second and Khandaq in the fifth. But the great majority have disagreed with this way of counting. Ibn Hazm[7] insists that it took place in the fourth year. He draws evidence from Ibn 'Umar's statement that the Prophet ﷺ rejected him before the start of the battle of Uhud on grounds of age. That of course was in the third year after *Hijrah* and he was then fourteen years old.[8] But Bayhaqi,[9] Ibn Hajar[10] and others have said that Ibn 'Umar had just entered into his fourteenth year at the time of Uhud and during Khandaq he was at the end of his fifteenth year. This agrees with the statement of the majority of scholars.

Causes

The struggle between Muslims and the Quraysh did not come to an end until the fall of Makkah in the eighth year after *Hijrah*. Therefore, it was not out of expectation that the pagans would make every effort in between to break Muslim power which they saw as constantly threatening their trade routes as well as their status among the Arabs.

Therefore, the Quraysh decided to give a final blow that would end the struggle between the two forces. Accordingly, they began to work on raising a force so large that they had to seek the help of everyone they were in league. In the Jews of Banu Nadir who had been exiled from Madinah, they found ready assistance. Their interests were common: finish off the Muslims.

The first of those to whom the idea occurred was the Jewish

6 Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath*, p. 276, Ibn Kathir: the same source, and Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (3/369). He wrote extensively on this expedition in his *Tārikh*. See (3/392-397). See also the discussions of the redactor in the footnotes.

7 *Jawāmi'us-Sirah*, p. 185.

8 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/275-276/H. 4097).

9 *Dalā'il* (3/396).

10 *Al-Fath* (15/276).

leaders of Banu Nadir who were expelled to Khayber. They went up and met with the leaders of the Quraysh and other chieftains. Obviously, they hoped to provoke them to war so that they could shift back to Madinah. The delegation that arrived consisted of: Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, Huyaiy bin Akhtab, Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq, who were all of the Banu Nadir, and Hawdhah bin Qays, Abu 'Ammār, of the Wā'il tribes, accompanied by a few plebeians of both Banu Nadir and Banu Wā'il tribes. They urged the Quraysh to fight the Prophet ﷺ promising to fight with them until they jointly uprooted him. They proclaimed that the religion of the Quraysh was better than the religion of Muhammad ﷺ. It is about this that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿أَلَمْ تَرَ إِلَى ٱلَّذِينَ أُوتُوا۟ نَصِيبًا مِّنَ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ يُؤْمِنُونَ بِٱلْجِبْتِ وَٱلطَّٰغُوتِ
وَيَقُولُونَ لِلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟ هَٰٓؤُلَآءِ أَهْدَىٰ مِنَ ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ سَبِيلًا﴾

"Have you considered those who were given a portion of the Book? They believe in sorcery and the devil, and say about those who have disbelieved, 'These are better guided on the path than the believers.'"[11, 12]

Thereafter they went up to the Ghatafān tribe of the Najd area and convinced them to join forces with the Quraysh and of their own, against the Prophet ﷺ.[13] They promised them half of the

11 *Surat An-Nisa'*: 51.

12 Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/298-99); and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah*, (4/106); and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (8/469-471/Shākir) being a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās a chain in which falls Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad, who was unknown. Tabari mentioned the views of different scholars regarding the reason behind the revelation of this Verse. His own opinion can be summarized as follows: "The opinion closest to being correct is of him who said that this is an information from Allāh, Glorified is He, about a group of Jews, although it is possible that the group is the one that Ibn 'Abbās named in the report narrated by Muhammad bin Abu Muhammad, and he from 'Ikrimah or Sa'eed. Or, it could have been Huyaiy along with another with him, such as Ka'b, or others." The *Hadith* was also reported by *Al-Wāqidi* (2/441-42).

13 Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (1/513) being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain reaching up to Ibn 'Abbās. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/300).

Khayber[14] date crop if they joined in the battle with them. It was Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq who had gone up to Ghatafān and received a good response from 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fazāri.[15]

The pagans also wrote to their ally Banu Asad. In response Talhah bin Khuwaylid and those who followed him came out and joined with the Quraysh. Following that, Abu Sufyān left Makkah along with all those tribes that had agreed to help him. Their first encampment was at Marr Az-Zahrān. There he was joined by Banu Sulaym led by Sufyān bin 'Abd Shams, the father of Abul-A'war.[16] Banu Murrah also joined the Quraysh there, led by Hārith bin 'Awf as well as Banu Ashja' led by Mis'ar bin Rakhilah.[17] The settlers in the Makkan outskirts, known as *Ahābish*, also joined the Quraysh along with those of the Banu Kinānah who were their allies as well as some of the Tihāmah.[18] They became a huge army. Allāh (ﷻ) called them 'Confederates'.[19] Ibn Ishāq[20] has mentioned their numbers as 10,000 while the Muslims against them were 3,000.[21]

14 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/443) and they offered to give them the produce of Khayber dates of one year.

15 Being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah, through his own chain reaching up to Zuhri, as in *Al-Fath* (15/275) and Bayhaqi as in *Dalā'il* (3/398).

16 A narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah*, and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar (15/275). That report says that Banu Sulaym were under the leadership of Abul-A'war. But that is probably incorrect and what Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd report, to the effect that it was Abu Sufyān, the father of Abul-A'war, one of the commanders of Mu'āwiyah, in Siffin. See *Al-Wāqidi* (2/443) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/66).

17 A narration of Ibn Ishaq, with a chain leading up to Zuhri and others of his masters, but *Mursal – Ibn Hishām* (3/300).

18 Ibn Ishāq through his own chain leading up to his masters – *Ibn Hishām* (3/306).

19 Being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398), and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar – the above mentioned references.

20 *Ibn Hishām* (3/306), but a *Mu'allaq* report.

21 Wāqidi mentioned the number of some of these parties: Quraysh and who followed her from the *Ahabish* = 4000, Banu Sulaym = 700, Banu Fazārah = 1000, Ashja' = 400, Banu Murrah = 400 – *Maghāzi* (2/443).

The above sum up to six thousand and five hundred fighters. The rest of the ten thousand could have been from the Asad and Ghatafān tribes.

Once the desired numbers had been recruited for the cause, the massive army began to march towards Madinah. Reaching the place, they encamped at where the flood waters of Rumah met between Juruf and Zaghābah. The Ghatafān,[22] accompanied by Banu Asad,[23] encamped at the end of Naqama beside Uhud.

When the news of their intended joint raid on Madinah reached the Prophet ﷺ, he consulted his Companions. Salmān Fārisi advised that they dig trenches (*Khandaq*)[24] at places that were open for enemy attack. The other three sides were either difficult lava terrain or were covered with trees and orchards that made them impassable for a large army, especially those on mounts.[25]

Faced with such a large army as was advancing, almost everyone agreed to the suggestion about the trench, and they began to dig. The trench extended from the Shaykhayn mountains near the Banu Hārithah territory in the east to Midhādh in the west. It was about five thousand feet long, nine feet wide and between seven and ten feet deep. Ten men were required to dig every ten feet length.[26] The *Muhājir* began to dig from the Ratij fort in the east until the Dhubāb fort and *Ansār* from the Dhubāb fort until the Mount 'Ubayd in the west.[27]

22 Ibn Ishāq through a *Mu'allaq* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/306) and in *Thulāthiyyāt Musnad Ahmad* by Safārini (1/199-200), where it should be Ghābah instead of Zaghābah, although there is no contradiction since Ghābah is nothing but the north of Zaghābah and lie side by side.

23 A narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398), and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar.

24 Being a report of Abu Ma'shar Sindi in his *Maghāzi*, as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Fath* (15/275), in a *Mu'allaq* report; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/445) through his chains leading up to his teachers, one of whom is Abu Ma'shar, identified as Najih who was weak, although among them are reliable narrators as well as weak, and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/66).

25 A narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah through his chain leading up to Zuhri, as in *Al-Fath* (15/275) and Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398).

26 By *Hadith* standards, several weak reports have reached us about this through the route of Kathir bin 'Abdullah Muzani who was weak. See them in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/130); the *Tafsir* of Tabari (21/33); *Fathul-Bāri* (15/280) and others.

27 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/445-450); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/66-67) *Mu'allaq, Sharh Thulāthiyyāt Musnad Ahmad* (1/199-200).

The work went on at a goodly pace. It had to be completed before the enemy arrived.[28] The whole operation took between six to twenty-four days. Ibn 'Uqbah said that they did it in twenty days; Wāqidi: twenty-four days; Nawawi[29] in his *Rawdah*: fifteen days; and Ibn Sa'd: six days.[30]

They were fed with a meager diet consisting of barley cooked with a little butter. It wasn't very tasty, nor of good smell, but extreme hunger made it palatable.[31] At times they didn't have even that and had to contend themselves with a few dates.[32] In fact, there was a time when for three consecutive days they didn't get either, leading to such pangs of hunger that they had to tie rocks to their stomachs, the Prophet ﷺ not being an exception.[33]

Of course, everyone participated in the digging, without exception: whether rich or poor, slave or free men. They had a good example in the Prophet ﷺ whose body was covered with dust as he dug. In fact, whenever they encountered a hard rock, his help was sought in breaking it down and he would strike a few blows with his shovel.[34] He also joined them in the chorus to encourage them when they sang poetry together. They sang:

O Allāh, if not for You we wouldn't be guided
Neither expended nor prayed.
Therefore, send down tranquility on us,
And affirm our feet when we meet

[28] A narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/398), and *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar.

[29] From his narration in *Al-Fath* (15/276).

[30] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/67), a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report. Dr. 'Umari mentioned this opinion, but not others. Perhaps unto him it is reliable. See *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*: *Al-Jihād*, p. 114. However we are inclined to accept Musa bin 'Uqbah's narrative for he is accepted by the authors of the six canonical works (*Sihah Sittah*), and a biographical scholar.

[31] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/278/H. 4100).

[32] Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (303-304), see *Al-Bidāyah* (4/112).

[33] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/279/H. 4101).

[34] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/276-279/H. 4098-4101); *Muslim* (3/1430/H. 1803).

The tribes have rebelled against us
And sought mischief although we avoided.

The Prophet ﷺ raised his voice at these words.[35]

While working they sang:

We are those who gave our word to Muhammad
On Islam, so long as we are alive.

The Prophet ﷺ would reply to them with, "O Allāh, surely there is no good but that of the Hereafter, so bless the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār*." Sometimes he spoke out these words loudly and they replied with poetical pieces.[36]

Evidences of the Prophet's Messengership during the digging

Allāh (ﷻ) revealed at the hands of the Prophet ﷺ several miracles during the digging of the trench. A few are as follows:

1. When Jābir ؓ observed the hardship the Prophet ﷺ was undergoing because of hunger, he left by his leave and describing his hunger to his wife asked her to prepare something for him. They slaughtered a little goat and cooked some pudding to go with it from a little barley that they had. Then he went back to the Prophet ﷺ and invited him to the dinner. He observed secrecy while inviting him because the food would have been just enough for a couple of men. However, accepting his invitation, the Prophet ﷺ announced to everyone present to join in. They were at least a thousand. That put Jābir and his wife in an embarrassing situation. But the Prophet ﷺ supplicated over the food and everyone ate to his fill leaving behind enough for Jābir and his wife.[37] They were even able to gift some to the neighbors.

[35] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/285/H. 4104) whose words have been taken here; and *Muslim* (3/1430-1432/H. 1803-1805).

[36] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/276-278/H. 4098), *Muslim* (3/1431/H. 1805).

[37] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/280-283/H. 1401, 1402). The two reports follow different routes both reaching Jābir; *Muslim* (3/1610, 1611/H. 2039); and reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/403-405).

2. The Prophet ﷺ informed 'Ammār bin Yāsir hat he would be killed by a rebellious party. That happened and he was killed in the Siffin battle in which he had participated on 'Ali's side.[38]

3. When his Companions encountered a huge hard rock, and sought his help, he struck it three times. With the first strike he said, "Allāh is Great. I have been given the keys to Shām. By Allāh, I can see its red palaces now." Then he struck a second time and said, "Allāh is Great. I have been given the keys to Persia and I can at this moment see the white Madā'in palaces." Then he struck a third time and said, "Allāh is Great. I have been given the keys to Yemen. By Allāh, I can see the gates of San'ā' from this place."[39]

These words predicted that the places mentioned would fall to Muslims in the future. The Qur'ān recorded the reaction of the believers then with him. It said,

﴿هَٰذَا مَا وَعَدَنَا ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥ وَصَدَقَ ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥۚ وَمَا زَادَهُمْ إِلَّآ إِيمَٰنًا وَتَسْلِيمًا﴾

"(They said), 'This is what Allāh and His Messenger promised us, and Allāh and His Messenger spoke the truth.' And, it only increased them in their faith and submission."[40]

As for the hypocrites, they remarked when they heard the prediction, once again in the words of the Qur'ān,

﴿وَإِذْ يَقُولُ ٱلْمُنَٰفِقُونَ وَٱلَّذِينَ فِى قُلُوبِهِم مَّرَضٌ مَّا وَعَدَنَا ٱللَّهُ وَرَسُولُهُۥٓ إِلَّا غُرُورًا﴾

"When the hypocrites and those whose hearts were infected with

[38] *Muslim* (4/2235/H. 2915).

[39] A narration of Ahmad and Nasa'i through a *Hasan* chain, as Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/280), and Tabarāni in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* (11/376). Haythami said in his *Al-Majma'* (6/131): "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih* except for 'Abdullah bin Ahmad and Nu'aym 'Anbari. 'Abdullah bin Imam Ja'far was trustworthy. As for Nu'aym, we did not happen to see his biography."

[40] *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 22.

disease were saying, 'Allāh and His Messenger did not promise us but a deception.'"[41]

Verse 13 to 20 of *Surat Al-Ahzāb* have drawn an accurate picture of the hypocrites, mentioning their fears and their shirking away of the works connected with the digging and fighting the enemy.

However, despite the derision by the hypocrites, severity of the cold weather topped with hunger, the trench was ready to serve as an insurmountable barrier between the Muslims and the enemy. Thereafter, women, children and old men were gathered together in a fort called Fāri'.[42] It belonged to Banu Hārithah and was one of the strongest forts that the Muslims then had in their possession.[43]

The strategy adopted was that the Muslims should have their backs to Mount Sala' inside Madinah[44] facing the trench, while the pagans were in Rumah between Juruf, Ghābah, and Naqama.[45]

When the Prophet ﷺ saw the strength of the pagans and the weakness of the believers, he sent for Sa'd bin Mu'ādh and Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, two *Ansāri* leaders. He spoke to them about a proposed peace treaty to which Ghatafān seemed to be agreeing to. He also mentioned the conditions therein. It was to hand over to them a third of the Madinan dates of the current year. If they agreed to that, the Ghatafān promised to break away and leave. Everything had been more or less agreed to except for the final signature on the document. But the two disagreed. They said, "By Allāh, we never

[41] *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 12.

[42] *Muslim* (4/1879/H. 2416) and the name of the fortress was Utum or Hisn or Hisān. However, Ibn Ishāq mentioned that the fortress of Fāri' was of Hassān bin Thābit – *Ibn Hishām* (3/317). This name was clearly mentioned by Bazzār and Abu Ya'la, through a weak chain, as in *Al-Majma'* (6/133-134); *Kashful-Astār* of Haythami (1/333); and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/462).

[43] Tabarāni documented it as in *Al-Majma'* (6/133) where Haythami said, "Its narrators are reliable." However Dr. 'Umari declared it weak in *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*: *Al-Jihād*/p. 117) for he could not find the biography of Tabarāni's Shaykh and the Shaykh of his Shaykh. See *Al-Wāqidi* (2/469), and Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/315).

[44] A *Mu'allaq* report from Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (3/306).

[45] A *Mursal* report of 'Urwah that Tabari mentioned in his *Tafsir* (21/129-130).

bent ourselves for worthless things in the days before Islam. How can we do that after Islam?" According to Tabarāni, they said, "O Messenger of Allāh, is this Allāh's commandment to which we submit, or your own opinion? We have a feeling that it is your personal opinion. If you wish to be doing it for our sake, then, by Allāh, we don't see ourselves any worse than them. We shall not give them a single date except by purchase or as offered to guests." Following their opposition, the Prophet ﷺ terminated his peace discussions with Hārith Ghatafāni who was the leader of Banu Murrah.[46]

On the other side, the Jews of Banu Nadir tried to break off the Jews of Qurayzah from the Prophet ﷺ. They invited them to break the compact and join forces with the pagans. Huyaiy bin Akhtab was chosen for this mission. He went and met Ka'b bin Asad of the Banu Qurayzah. After a long discussion he was able to win him over on hopes that the Muslims were sure to be destroyed by the Confederate tribes. He also invited him to enter into his fort after the tribes had left completing their mission.[47]

That was a difficult day for the Muslims: the day Banu Qurayzah decided to break the alliance and join with the tribal forces against the Muslims. The danger was all the more great because they were right behind the Muslims and could strike them from the rear. Their dwellings were in *'Awāli*, south-eastern part of Madinah in the valleys of Mahzur.[48]

Zubayr ﷺ brought the worrisome news of their treachery to the Prophet ﷺ. It was on that day that the Prophet ﷺ said, "May my

[46] Reported by Bazzār and Tabarāni: both with a chain *Hasan*. *See: Kashful-Astār* (1/331-332) and *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/132). It is supported by other reports, but all weak, for e.g., Ibn Ishāq's narrative which is *Mu'allaq*; *Ibn Hishām* (3/310-311); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/73), *Mursal* and in brief; and Ibn Abu Shaybah in his *Al-Musannaf* (14/420) through his own chain up to Abu Ma'shar. Ibn Ishāq's narration says that Sa'd bin Mu'ādh received the letter and erased off its writing and said, "Let them fight us."

[47] Reported by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (3/307-308), Musa bin 'Uqbah, quoted by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (3/400-401) which stops at his Shaykh Zuhri.

[48] See Hamawi's *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (5/234-235).

parents be sacrificed for you. Every Prophet has a *Hawāri* (Disciple), and my *Hawāri* is Zubayr."[49] However, in order to get the news confirmed, he sent Sa'd bin Mu'ādh, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah and Khawāt bin Jubayr to the Jews. They went up to the Banu Qurayzah and talked the issue with them. They found that they had decided to call off their treaty with the Prophet ﷺ. Only one of their families, Bani Sa'yah,[50] disagreed with them and decided to stand by the pact. The Prophet's messengers returned to confirm the news of treachery.

When the news spread, the Muslims felt concerned about their women and children.[51] But, with another enemy in front there was little they could do. The Qur'ān depicted their situation,

﴿إِذْ جَآءُوكُم مِّن فَوْقِكُمْ وَمِنْ أَسْفَلَ مِنكُمْ وَإِذْ زَاغَتِ ٱلْأَبْصَٰرُ وَبَلَغَتِ ٱلْقُلُوبُ ٱلْحَنَاجِرَ وَتَظُنُّونَ بِٱللَّهِ ٱلظُّنُونَا۠ ۝١٠ هُنَالِكَ ٱبْتُلِىَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ وَزُلْزِلُوا۟ زِلْزَالًا شَدِيدًا﴾

"When they came on you from above you and from below you. When the eyes shifted (in fear) and hearts reached the throats, and you assumed about Allāh various assumptions. It was there that the believers were tried and shaken with a severe shaking."[52]

Those who had appeared from 'above them' were the

[49] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/291/H. 4113), *Muslim* (4/1879/H. 2415) and others. Wāqidi has the details (1/457) where he mentioned that Zubayr saw them fixing up their fortresses, repairing roads and had gathered their cattle. This means Zubayr was able to convey the actual situation.

[50] The report concerning Banu Sa'yah is by Ibn Ishāq through a *Mu'allaq* chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/329-330).

[51] A narration of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (3/308-309) as also Ibn 'Uqbah, *Munqati'* as in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/400-401). See also *Al-Wāqidi* (2/458-459) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/67).

[52] *Surat Al-Ahzab*: 10-11. Reported by Ibn Ishāq as a *Mu'allaq* report–*Ibn Hishām* (3/339-340) and Tabari in his *Tafsir* (21/128-155) as Disconnected (*Mursal*) reports coming from some Followers. They are quite a few reports and therefore, in sum strengthen each other to rise to the level of *Hasan li Ghayrihi*.

Confederate tribes, those from 'below them' were the Banu Qurayzah, and those who 'assumed about Allāh various assumptions' were the hypocrites. As for the believers, they came out true from this trial doing everything within the range of possibility. Accordingly, they posted troops to scout the Madinan outskirts. Salamah bin Aslam of Aws led a party of two hundred men on horses, while Zayd bin Hārithah was commanding another three hundred. They went about in rounds, raising their voices with *Allāhu Akbar* to warn the Banu Qurayzah against any attempt at their women and children.[53]

To go back a little, when the Confederate tribes had arrived at Madinan borders, they were surprised to find a gaping trench before them. So they laid siege and encamped in the valleys. They made several attempts to cross but the Muslims showered them with arrows and held them back. The siege lasted some twenty-four days.[54]

According to Ibn Ishāq[55] and Ibn Sa'd,[56] some of them did manage to cross the trench. Ibn Ishāq gives us their names: 'Amr bin 'Abd Wadd, 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl, Hubayrah bin Abu Wahb, and

[53] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/67) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/460).

[54] A report of *Ibn Sa'd* (2/73) whose narrators are reliable but is a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report coming from Ibn Musaiyab whose *Mursal* reports are strong. This happens to be the strongest report so far as the period of besiege is concerned. Ibn Ishāq said: "Twenty and some nights nearly a month"—*Ibn Hishām* (3/310) through a *Mu'allaq* chain. Tabari reported in his *Tafsir* (21/128) through a *Mursal* report of Qatādah with a *Hasan* chain that the besiege continued for one month, while Musa bin 'Uqbah coming from Ibn Shihāb, as in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/401) says that the besiege lasted a little less than twenty nights. *Ibn Sa'd* (2/70) said that it was fifteen nights.

[55] *Ibn Hishām* (3/311-313), a *Mu'allaq* report.

[56] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/68) *Mu'allaq*. Tabari chronicled in his *Tārikh* the duel between 'Ali ﷺ and Ibn 'Abd Wadd as a *Mursal* report coming from Zuhri. And his *Mursal* reports are considered weak. He also reported through a *Mursal* report coming from 'Ikrimah, whose narrators are reliable. See the details of pagan efforts to cross the ditch and 'Ali's duel with Ibn 'Abd Wadd in *Al-Wāqidi* (2/464-473). It is a heroic story that strengthens the faith, a source of lessons for the young.

the poet Dirār bin Khattāb bin Mirdās. Ibn Sa'd added another name to the list, Nawfal bin 'Abdullah. It is reported that 'Ali fought a duel with 'Amr bin 'Abd Wudd and killed him, although 'Amr was a famous fighter. Zubayr killed Nawfal Makhzumi while the others fled back.

The pagans however kept the pressure on the Muslims shooting arrows at them to push them away from the trench. At one time, the shooting and attempts at crossing were so severe that the Muslims could not do their afternoon prayer in congregation. They did it after sunset.[57] This happened before the commandments concerning shortened prayers were revealed, which came down during the Riqa'[58] expedition. (That is, following the opinion of those who believe the Riqa' expedition was after Khandaq).

As a result of the various skirmishes, three pagans were killed while six Muslims[59] were martyred. One of them was Sa'd bin Mu'ādh. He was struck by an arrow in his forearm vein. It was shot by Hibbān bin 'Ariqah. After the armies had moved off, a tent was pitched in the yard of the mosque for Sa'd so that the Prophet ﷺ could visit him whenever he wished. He died after the affair of the Banu Qurayzah.[60]

[57] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/291/ H. 4111-4112), see Ibn Hajar's commentary on the *Hadith*.

[58] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/306/H. 4125).

[59] Being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi, both *Mu'allaq* and both mentioned the number and names of the tribes that took part—*Ibn Hishām* (3/349-350), and the *Maghāzi* of Wāqidi (2/495-496). *Ibn Sa'd* (2/70) named four of those mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi.

[60] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/299/H. 4122). Bukhāri has recorded that Sa'd had prayed to Allāh that he be kept alive until a fight with the Quraysh, if there was any fight left in them, so that he could participate in it, and open up his wound if there were to be no more fights between them and Muslims meaning this battle and so his wound opened up and became the cause of his death. See also *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/301/H. 4122). Ibn Ishāq added that he prayed in words: "Do not deal me death until my eyes are cooled from Banu Qurayzah"—*Ibn Hishām* (3/316), a *Mu'allaq* report. See his virtues in *Al-Bukhāri, Muslim* and others. See also the *Hadith* as reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/82) whose chain was regarded *Hasan* by Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/139).

He was nursed by Rufaydah of the Aslam tribe.[61]

During this and the Banu Qurayzah battle that followed, the password for the Muslims was: "*Ha. Mim.* They will not be helped."[62]

Finally, Allāh's help arrived in two forms: One, in the person of Nu'aym bin Mas'ud who played an important role in helping to disperse the pagans and second, a severe storm.

1 - Nu'aym bin Mas'ud's Role

Ibn Ishāq,[63] Wāqidi,[64] 'Abdur-Razzāq,[65] and Musa bin 'Uqbah[66] have reported that Nu'aym bin Mas'ud Ghatafāni came up to the Prophet ﷺ to declare his faith in Islam. He also offered any service that he required of him. The Prophet ﷺ replied, "You are one of us. But, for the moment, pretend to be an outsider. War is (the other name of) deceit."[67]

So, Mas'ud concealed his Islam and went up to Banu Qurayzah. He was able to convince them that they could not depend on the Quraysh without the latter offering them some men as ransom, otherwise it was feared that they will walk away without completing the mission, leaving them alone to face the

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[61] A report of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (3/331).

[62] Ibn Ishāq reported it through a *Mu'allaq* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/314); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/74/The Book of *Jihād*); Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (3/115/The Book of *Jihād*) both of them through the same chain; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/289); and Hākim through different chains which he declared reliable but over which Dhahabi maintained his silence. The report becomes reliable because of the surrounding evidences as stated by the two verifiers of *Ibn Hishām* (3/315).

[63] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (3/319-320).

[64] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/480-483).

[65] *Al-Musannaf* (5/368-369) *Mursal* through Ibn Musaiyab whose reports of this nature are strong.

[66] One of his *Mursal* reports coming from Zuhri in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/404-405) and Ibn Kathir in his *Tārikh* (4/127).

[67] "War is deceit," is a *Hadith* of the Messenger ﷺ, recorded in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/126/H. 3029-3030); *Muslim* (3/1361/H. 1739) and others.

situation. Then he went up to the Quraysh and told them that Banu Qurayzah were regretting over their role and that they have secretly planned with Muhammad ﷺ to deceitfully spirit away some of their and Ghatafān men. They would then slaughter them to prove their loyalty to Muhammad. "So, if the Jews send you the word that they need some men as ransom, don't send a single man," he said in conclusion. Then he went up to Ghatafān and told them the same thing. This way he was able to plant distrust in their hearts so that each began to look at the other as someone about to outsmart them.

2 - The Miracle of the Storm

One of those nights the winds picked up speed to assume the form of a typhoon. The night was dark and cold. It overturned the cooking pots of the pagans, blew off their fires and ripped apart their tents. Finally, Abu Sufyān had to call it a day.[68] This was certainly one of Allāh's forces that He let loose on the pagans. He said in the Qur'ān,

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ ٱذْكُرُوا۟ نِعْمَةَ ٱللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ جَآءَتْكُمْ جُنُودٌ فَأَرْسَلْنَا عَلَيْهِمْ رِيحًا وَجُنُودًا لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا ۚ وَكَانَ ٱللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ بَصِيرًا﴾

"Believers, remember Allāh's favor to you when the confederate forces came to you, so We let loose upon them Our winds, and other forces that you didn't see. And, surely, Allāh is Aware of what you do."[69]

Muslim[70] has a report in the words of Hudhayfah bin Yamān who described one of the scenes: "I was with the Prophet ﷺ the night of the Confederates when the winds began to blow hard. The Prophet ﷺ said, 'Will someone bring me the news of the tribes and

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[68] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/71) as a *Mursal* report of Sa'eed bin Jubayr; *Dalā'il* of Bayhaqi (3/406) being a narration of Musa bin 'Uqbah, *Mursal*, with Zuhri at the end, whose *Mursal* reports are treated weak.

[69] *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 9.

[70] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1414-1415/H. 1788).

be in my company on the Day of Judgement?' No one responded. He repeated it three times. Then he said, 'Hudhayfah, rise, and bring me their news.' So, there was no escape for me but to get up as he had named me. He said, 'Go to them and bring me their news and don't provoke them against me.' So, I started off. And, in a moment I felt as if I was in a hot bathroom. I went in among them. I found Abu Sufyān warming up his back with the fire. I placed an arrow in my bow and was about to shoot when I remembered his words, "and don't provoke them against me." Had I shot at him, surely, I could have killed him. So, I (gathered news and) returned. And, it was as if I was walking in a hot bathroom. I gave him the news about the people. When I was finished he gave me a cloak upon which he used to offer his prayers. I slept until the morning when I heard him saying, 'Rise, O sleeper.'"

Ibn Ishāq[71] has the following addition: "...I entered into the camp while the winds, Allāh's forces, were battering them. There was nothing that it didn't carry away in its run. Abu Sufyān stood up and said, 'People. Let everyone look carefully at the man next to him.' So I caught the man next to me and asked him, 'Who are you?' He replied, 'So-and-so, son of so-and-so.' Then Abu Sufyān began to speak. He said, 'People. By God, you aren't in a good situation. The provisions are lost and Banu Qurayzah have deceived us. We have received some news from them that doesn't please us. And now we are struck by these hard winds. Therefore, let us decamp and go. I am leaving.'"

Hākim[72] and Bazzār[73] have added to the above, "...I went into them and found Abu Sufyān with a group of people around him.

[71] *Ibn Hishām* (3/322) with a *Mursal* chain that stops at Muhammad bin Ka'b Qurazi.

[72] *Al-Mustadrak* (3/31) which he declared trustworthy with Dhahabi's approval. The narrative of Hākim, Bazzār, Muslim, Abu Nu'aym and Bayhaqi support Ibn Ishāq's narrative. See Abu Nu'aym's *Dalā'il* (2/500-501) and Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/449-454) who quote through several sources.

[73] This is in Haythami's *Kashful-Astār* (2/335-336), who remarked in *Al-Majma'* (6/136): "Bazzār preserved it and its narrators are reliable."

The other tribes had broken off from him. It was as if Abu Sufyān felt suspicious when I entered into the company. So he said, 'Let each of you question the man next to him.' So I caught the neighbors on my right and left by their hands. Then I stayed for a while and returned to the Prophet ﷺ. I told him, 'O Messenger of Allāh. Several tribes have abandoned Abu Sufyān. He is left with a group of people warming themselves with the fire. Allāh sent upon them the cold that He sent upon us. But we hope for rewards that they do not hope.'"

Thus the tribulation of the Muslims ended and they were spared the evil consequences of a battle. Allāh (ﷻ) said, commenting upon the events,

﴿وَرَدَّ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا بِغَيْظِهِمْ لَمْ يَنَالُوا خَيْرًا وَكَفَى اللَّهُ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ الْقِتَالَ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ قَوِيًّا عَزِيزًا﴾

"And Allāh repelled the disbelievers in their rage, not having achieved anything worthwhile. And Allāh proved enough for the believers in (their) battle, and Allāh is Powerful, Mighty."[74]

The peaceful end was also in response to the Prophet's supplications during the siege. He used to say, "O Allāh, the Sender of the Book, Quick in reckoning, hand over defeat to the Confederates. O Allāh, give them defeat, and shake them."[75]

The raid was the best that the confederate tribes could do against the Muslims. But Allāh (ﷻ) returned them unsuccessful. This meant they wouldn't be able to do anything better in future. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Here onward, we shall strike at them, they will not strike at us.[76] We shall march upon them, they will not march upon us." The words proved his prophecy, and later events proved their veracity.

[74] *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 25.

[75] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1363/H. 1742).

[76] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/290/H. 4109, 4110), see Ibn Hajar for his commentary. Also reported by Ibn Ishāq, with a complete chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/352). Others have also recorded it. And, if we cite reports from Ibn Ishāq and others of the biographers alongside those of the trusted reports (in

Lessons and Rules

1. The digging of the trench was an expression of Muslims' obedience of the command: *"And prepare yourselves so far as possible with power ..."* It is incumbent upon the Muslims to use every means available and accept ideas that come from any source. For, the word of wisdom is the lost property of a Muslim. He picks it up wherever he finds it.

2. The Prophet ﷺ gave a good example of the equality of the rulers and the ruled, by participating in the digging of the trench and not opting out to rest. It also proved his absolute humbleness.

3. The Prophet ﷺ gave another example of his kindness upon the believers when he was called to dinner during the digging, when, instead of going away by himself, he took along a great number of people with him. The Qur'ān said,

﴿لَقَدْ جَآءَكُمْ رَسُولٌ مِّنْ أَنفُسِكُمْ عَزِيزٌ عَلَيْهِ مَا عَنِتُّمْ حَرِيصٌ عَلَيْكُم بِٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ رَءُوفٌ رَّحِيمٌ﴾

"Surely, a Messenger has come to you from among yourself. Hard upon him is what pains you. He is concerned about you, and unto the believers he is kind and merciful."[77]

4. The series of miracles that Allāh bestowed on the Prophet ﷺ, whether they were during the digging, the increase in food at Jābir's place, or the storm that struck, destroying the pagan resolution, belonged to a chain of miracles with which Allāh (ﷻ) helped His Messenger ﷺ. They were to defeat the arguments and cure the skepticism of those who opposed him, whether they were hypocrites or pagans.

Hadith works) it is in order to impress that they are masters of the field, and what they narrate, with complete chains, or *Mursal*, or *Munqati'*, or *Mu'allaq*, or any other kind of the weak in *Hadith*, has its basis in an acceptable source.

[77] *At-Tawbah*: 128.

5. The wisdom behind the Prophet's consultation of his Companions over the peace-treaty offered by the Ghatafān tribe was that he wished to ascertain his Companions' strength of faith and trust in Allāh (ﷻ). That was despite the fact that the Confederates had arrived on a sudden from all over the Arab world, while the Muslims had an untrustworthy ally in Banu Qurayzah prowling behind their lines.

6. The Prophet's consultation proves it that the Muslims are bound to consult with each other affairs that have not been covered by the governing laws of the Qur'ān or *Hadith*. However, the peace offer of the Ghatafān and the Prophet's response does not prove the validity of the Muslim dealings of this kind, or to the validity of what they give away by agreement, to ward off their enemies, by relinquishing a piece of land, or goods or whatever. For, it is agreed that the *Sunnah* is either the Prophet's words or the deeds he accomplished, so long as Allāh (ﷻ) did not object to what he said or did.

   In the consultations under discussion, there is no evidence to the fact that the Muslims are allowed to offer tribute to their enemies. If ever they are forced by the circumstance to give away a part of their wealth, they are required to wait for a chance to recover it.[78]

7. In the afternoon prayers that the Prophet ﷺ did after the sunset, because the pagans kept him and his Companions occupied, is the proof that missed prayers should be offered when time is available.

[78] See Buti: *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 233-234, for juridical discussions.

Chapter 11

The Banu Qurayzah Affair

This expedition took place directly after the Ahzāb (Confederates) battle at the end of Dhul-Qa'dah and beginning of Dhul-Hijjah in the fifth year after *Hijrah*.[1]

It is clear from the preceding events that the prime reason for this expedition was the treachery of Banu Qurayzah, which was instigated by Huyaiy bin Akhtab[2] of the Banu Nadir. We have mentioned earlier that the Prophet ﷺ had sent Zubayr bin 'Awwām to investigate if the reports of their intentions were true. Not satisfied, he sent across the two Sa'ds and then Ibn Rawāhah to ascertain the facts.

Now, this treachery had come at a time when the Muslims were in a crucial situation. Accordingly, Allāh (ﷻ) ordered that they be fought against immediately after the Confederates had left.[3] Following that commandment, the Prophet ﷺ conveyed to his Companions that they were to march immediately towards the

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[1] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/74) *Mu'allaq*. He mentioned that his departure was on Wednesday on the twenty-third of Dhul-Qa'dah. This is originally a narration of his Shaykh Wāqidi in the *Maghāzi* (2/496). As for Ibn Ishāq, he thought it was the fifth year not committing himself beyond this–*Ibn Hishām* (3/324) *Mu'allaq*.

[2] Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/368-373) being a *Mursal* report of Sa'eed bin Musaiyab. The narrative is worthy of serious considerations because of the supportive facts. Also reported by Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* by the same route (2/504-505).

[3] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/293/H. 4117).

Banu Qurayzah forts. And, in order to expedite the issue he said, "Let not anyone offer his afternoon prayers but at (the forts of) Banu Qurayzah." This is in *Al-Bukhāri*.[4] According to *Muslim* it was noon prayers.

As the Companions were on their way to Banu Qurayzah fort, the time for afternoon prayer arrived. Some of them suggested that they offer their prayers then and there, while others maintained that since the Prophet ﷺ had told them to do it at Banu Qurayzah, they should do it there alone.[5] Nevertheless, some offered their prayers on the way, while others did not. When it was brought to the Prophet's notice, he reproached none of the two groups.[6]

Ibn Hajar[7] said, "...Some scholars have tried to reconcile the two reports: that of *Al-Bukhāri* and that of *Muslim*. It is possible that before the orders were received to march out, some had offered their noon prayers, while others had not. So, those who had not offered their noon prayers were told not to do their noon prayers. As for those who had offered their noon prayers, they were told not to offer their afternoon prayers. Other scholars have said that the possibility is that they went in batches. So, the batch that went early was told not to offer their noon prayers, while the batch that followed was told not to offer their afternoon prayers. Both the explanations are tenable."

When the Prophet ﷺ arrived at Banu Qurayzah, he had three thousand fighters with him and thirty-six horsemen.[8] He laid siege to their forts sealing them in for fifteen days.[9] As the siege began to bite, they began to weaken. Finally, they gave up and agreed to surrender to the Prophet's judgement. When they consulted their

[4] *Al-Fath* (15/294/H. 4119).

[5] *Al-Bukhāri* and *Sahih Muslim* (3/1391/H. 1770).

[6] Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/326).

[7] *Al-Fath* (15/294/The Book of *Maghāzi*).

[8] See *Ibn Sa'd* (3/74) *Mu'allaq*, and as is known, a Suspended report (*Mu'allaq*) is of the weak class.

[9] A narrative of Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/81-83) with transmitters worth depending upon. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* that the chain of this *Hadith* is Perfect (*Jaiyid*). Tabari also mentioned it in his *Tārikh*

ally Abu Lubābah bin 'Abdul-Mundhir about the treatment they might get, he pointed to his necks meaning death for them. However, he regretted having done that and, in repentance, tied himself to a pillar in the Prophet's mosque until his repentance was accepted.[10]

When they came down surrendering to the Prophet's judgement, he decided that he would rather let one of the chiefs of Aws judge them, since Banu Qurayzah had been allies of the Aws. He chose Sa'd bin Mu'adh for this purpose. When he arrived, the Prophet ﷺ said to his Companions, "Rise up for your chief." Then he said, "These people are willing to come down surrendering themselves to your judgement." Sa'd judged that their men capable of fight be killed and their wives and children be enslaved. The Prophet ﷺ said, "You have judged by the judgement of Allāh."[11]

The judgement was implemented to the word. They were, according to the majority opinion, four hundred in number.[12] None

(2/583) with some of its parts in authentic works with a *Hasan* chain, stating that the period was between one month and twenty-five days—with uncertainty. Ibn Ishāq has it as twenty-five days—*Ibn Hishām* (2/74), *Mu'allaq*. This is what the biographers have accepted. Ibn Sa'd, *Mu'allaq*, has it that it was fifteen days. Ibn 'Uqbah said ten and a few days as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/30/The Book of *Maghāzi*).

[10] Being a narration of Ahmad in his *Musnad* through a *Hasan* chain: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/81-83).

[11] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/298/H. 4101) and *Sahih Muslim* (3/1389/H. 1768).

[12] A narration of Ahmad in his *Musnad* through a *Hasan* chain (3/350); as also as a narrative of Jābir in *At-Tirmidhi*, *An-Nasa'i* and *Ibn Hibbān*, all reporting through a reliable chain. Ibn Hajar mentioned this in *Al-Fath* (15/301). However, they differed in their number. Ibn Ishāq said they were six or seven hundred. The largest quoted numbers were between eight and nine hundred—*Ibn Hishām* (3/333) in a *Mu'allaq* report. Ibn 'Ā'idh has it, on the authority of a *Mursal* report of Qatādah that they were seven hundred. Ibn Hajar stated this in *Al-Fath* (15/301). But according to *Ibn Sa'd* (2/75) they were between six and seven hundred. Wāqidi has three reports: (a) six hundred, (b) between six and seven hundred, and (c) seven hundred and fifty—*Maghāzi* (2/517-518). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/301), "By way of reconciliation it might be said that (over a certain minimum) the rest were followers."

escaped but three,[13] for they embraced Islam. They also got back their property.[14] It is possible that two others also escaped by the intercession of some of the Companions. It could be that they had disagreed with their people and wished to remain true to the treaty.[15] One or two others also escaped. Ibn Ishāq[16] and others[17]

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[13] See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/202/H. 4028); *Muslim* (3/1388/H. 1766); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/140-141) and Abu 'Awānah in his *Musnad* (4/163).

[14] Ibn Ishāq through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/333). In the first report there is the unknowableness of the Shaykh of Banu Qurayzah. Its chain is strong but *Mursal*. In the second report *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (1/272 & 329), and it appears that its chain strengthens by other evidences. It has its support in the narratives of Bukhāri, Muslim, Abu Dāwud and Abu 'Awānah, which say that none of them escaped except for a few. This few is explained by this report of Ibn Ishāq. They were: Tha'labah bin Sa'yah, Usayd bin Sa'yah and Asad bin 'Ubayd as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/329). Ibn Hajar mentioned them in *Al-Isābah* (1/33), as did Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (1/79).

[15] Ibn Ishāq mentioned this *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/330): of them was 'Amr bin Sa'di who passed by the guards of the Prophet ﷺ with Muhammad bin Maslamah as in charge. But he let him go unhurt because he did not rebel against the Prophet ﷺ. Abu 'Ubayd also mentioned him in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 146, through a weak chain, for it is of the *Mursal* reports of Zuhri. Ibn Ishāq mentioned through a chain that appears to be of the *Hasan* status—*Ibn Hishām* ((3/337-338), as traced by Sindi, p. 379. He mentioned that Salma bint Qays an aunt of the Prophet ﷺ requested him to gift her Rifā'ah bin Samwāl Qurazi, and he obliged her. Wāqidi mentioned this (2/514-515). Rifā'ah enjoyed the Prophet's companionship and narrated *Ahādith* as in *Al-Isābah* (1/518); *Al-Isti'āb* (1/504) and *Durar*, p. 193.

[16] Through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/335-336) in which Ibn Ishāq did not mentioned whom he heard from; *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (4/22) being a report of Ibn Ishāq coming from Zuhri, *Mursal*. He named him as one he heard from (4/20-21) being a report of Musa bin 'Uqbah from Zuhri, *Mursal*; Tabarani in *Al-Awsat* with a weak chain for in it falls Musa bin 'Ubaydah—*Al-Majma'* (6/142); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/518-520). Ibn 'Abdul-Barr was very sure of it. He also mentioned that 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Zubayr enjoyed the Prophet's companionship. See: *Al-Isti'āb* (2/419); *Durar*, p. 193. These weak reports prove that the story of Thābit bin Qays with Zubayr bin Bāta has an origin. At least it can be deduced that Thābit bin Qays did a good turn to Zubayr, for Zubayr had an obligation on Thabit from the pre-Islamic days.

[17] For example Abu 'Ubayd: *Al-Amwāl*, p. 146, through a weak chain for it is

give us to understand that the Prophet ﷺ gifted Zubayr bin Bāta of the Banu Qurayzah to Thābit bin Qays bin Shammās. Another was 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Zubayr, who embraced Islam.

The families were gathered in the quarters of the daughter of Hārith Najjāriyah[18] and Usāmah bin Zayd.[19] As for men, pits were dug and they were taken there, group after group, to be beheaded.[20] A single woman was also killed.[21] It was in retaliation of the death of Khallād bin Suwayd over whom she had dropped a millstone killing him.[22] As for those who hadn't reached maturity, they were spared.[23] Thereafter, their women and

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one of the *Mursal* reports of Zuhri.

[18] A narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/333) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/512).

[19] A narration of 'Urwah in the *Maghāzi*, p. 187, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/512-518). Wāqidi elaborates that the prisoners were taken to the house of Usāmah bin Zayd, while the women and children were taken to Ramlah bint Hārith. As for 'Urwah, he states that the Prophet ﷺ ordered that their arms be placed in a house. Maybe it was the house of Hārith's daughter. Ibn 'Ā'idh's report states that the arms were placed in two houses—Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/30). This clarifies the reports of Wāqidi and Ibn 'Ā'idh that they were held in two houses and, therefore, there is no meaning in Ibn Hajar's efforts in *Al-Fath* (16/30) trying to reconcile the reports for some have come explaining the others.

[20] A narration of Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/310); Albāni: *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (3/118/H. 3544) where he said, "*Sahih*," and others also. The report is no less than of status *Hasan li Dhātihi* as mentioned by Sindi, pp. 288-289.

[21] Being a report of Ahmad in his *Musnad* (6/277), and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/123/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2671) with a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain. He mentions that the reason was she doing something. The commentator said that it was because she insulted the Prophet ﷺ; Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/334) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/516). Her name was Nabātah while in Ibn Ishāq it is Bathāthah.

[22] A narrative of Ahmad in his *Musnad* (6/277); and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/50/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2671); Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/35-36) which he declared reliable and over which Dhahabi was silent; *Ibn Hishām, Mu'allaq,* (3/335). The report is no less than *Hasan li Dhātihi* as asserted by Sindi p. 289. Khallād was the only one who fell martyr in the battle of the Banu Qurayzah as the report makes clear.

[23] Reported by Ibn Dāwud in his *Sunan* (4/561); Tirmidhi as in *Sahih Sunan*

children were divided among the Muslims.[24]

Ibn Ishāq and others[25] have mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ sent Sa'd bin Zayd Ansāri to Najd along with a few of these new slaves to sell them there and buy horses and arms.

Wāqidi has stated two other opinions in his *Al-Maghāzi*[26] about the slaves: 1) The Prophet ﷺ sent Sa'd bin 'Ubādah to Shām to sell the prisoners there and purchase in return, arms and horses; and 2) 'Uthmān bin 'Affān and 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf purchased all of the prisoners. Now, as it can be seen, it is possible to reconcile these three reports since all of them could have happened.

The Prophet ﷺ retained Rayhānah, the daughter of 'Amr bin Khunāfah, for himself. She became a Muslim. But she remained a slave by choice until the Prophet ﷺ died.[27]

At-Tirmidhi by Albāni (2/114/H. 1649) who termed it reliable; *Ibn Mājah* (H. 541) as mentioned by Albāni in his work on Tirmidhi; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/3101) and (5/311-312); Ibn Ishāq with a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/337), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/76-77) through an authentic line, which happens to be the same route as that of Ibn Ishāq, while others have also recorded it. The report then is no less than *Hasan li Dhātihi*. See Sindi, p. 287 and 289.

[24] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/202/H. 4028), and *Muslim* (3/1388/H. 1766). It is in this regard that Allāh Glorified is He, said: *"And He caused you to inherit their lands, their houses, and a land which you had not trodden. And Allāh is able to do all things."* *Surat Al-Ahzāb*: 27.

[25] Shāmi mentioned this in his *Sirat* (5/29); Ibn 'Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (2/47), as a *Mu'allaq* report; Wāqidi also mentioned this *Hadith* (2/523).

[26] (2/523) and see: *As-Siratush-Shāmiyyah* (5/290) and *As-Siratul-Halabiyyah* (2/674-75).

[27] Reported by Ibn Ishāq as a *Mursal* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/339) but gains strength from others on the same line, for *Ibn Sa'd* (8/131) recorded it through a chain good enough except for Wāqidi. He considered her one of the wives of the Prophet ﷺ; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/520-521); Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/592); 'Abdul-Barr also counted her as one of the wives of the Prophet ﷺ in *Al-Isti'āb* (4/309) footnote; as did Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (4/309).

Lessons and Rules

1. The permissibility of killing someone who breaks a treaty treacherously. In fact, every nation has been doing that with those who act treacherously towards it, until our own times.

2. The legality of arbitration among the Muslims, following Sa'd bin Mu'ādh's choice as the arbitrator.

3. Legality of working out the by-laws in the light of textual commandments and avoiding criticism when a disagreement occurs. The Companions differed among themselves in their understanding of the Prophetic words, "Let not anyone offer his afternoon (or noon) prayers, but in Banu Qurayzah." However, the Prophet ﷺ did not blame either of them as having done something wrong.

4. Nawawi[28] has stated that the great majority of scholars are of the opinion that it is allowed to rise up to receive an important person. This is derived from the Prophet's words, "Rise up for your chief." Others have maintained that it is only desirable and that this is not that prohibition which was for someone who sat while others stood around him so long as he was sitting. Nawawi is with the opinion of the majority of scholars. He adds, "To rise up for a man of honor is not prohibited. There are trustworthy reports about this, and none of the prohibitory reports are trustworthy.

5. Dr. Buti[29] wrote: "You might know that the above does not contradict the Prophet's words, 'Whoever wished that people should rise up when he enters, may seek his abode in the Fire.' For, the desirability of honoring respectable personalities does not allow them to covet such a thing for themselves, or that they should approve of it. Rather, it is the sign of the pious that they should be humble towards their brothers...

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[28] See his commentary on *Sahih Muslim* (12/93).

[29] See *Fiqhus-Sirah*, pp. 240-241.

"The important thing to remember is that honoring people has its own limits that, when crossed, become unlawful; it causes a sin upon everyone who perpetrates or remains silent. You will see for instance, that some of the so-called Sufis have their followers standing around them in humbleness while they are seated. Or, you might see some people bowing themselves over the Shaykh's knee or hand, when he arrives before them. Or the deference they show to the Shaykh as they enter into his assembly, ... Islam has explained in detail the manners in which the Muslims should greet and treat each other and has warned against crossing the limits. And, there aren't any other manners better than those taught by the Prophet ﷺ."

Chapter **12**

Events between Banu Qurayzah and Hudaybiyah Expeditions

'Abdullah bin 'Atik's Expedition

We have noted earlier that Abu Rāfi' was one of those who coaxed the tribes to raid Madinah.[1] He also helped the Prophet's enemies,[2] such as to Banu Ghatafān, with huge sums of money.[3]

On the other hand, Banu Khazraj wanted to kill Abu Rāfi' in order to be quits with Aws who had killed Ka'b bin Ashraf. The two tribes had always vied with each other in their efforts to offer a service and please the Prophet ﷺ. So, the Khazraj people sought the Prophet's permission after the Qurayzah expedition to do away with Abu Rāfi'. The Prophet ﷺ allowed them but ordered them not to harm women and children.[4]

So, five of the Khazraj *Ansār* went out to the fort of Abu Rāfi' in Hijāz. The Prophet ﷺ had placed 'Abdullah bin 'Atik their head. By the time they arrived at the fort, the sun had gone down and the people had begun to withdraw along with their cattle. 'Abdullah

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1 See it in its place in this book.

2 See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/214/H. 4039).

3 Narrated by Ibn 'Ā'idh through Abul-Aswad and 'Urwah as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/216).

4 This part is from the narration of Ibn Ishāq via a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain stopping at 'Abdullah bin Ka'b—*Ibn Hishām* (3/380).

told his men to wait in the fields while he tried to secretly enter through the gate. He went up to the gate when the last man was just entering. However, upon reaching the gate he moved aside and began to lift his clothes as if he wished to urinate. The guard cried out, "Man. If you wish to come in, do it now. I'm gonna lock it up." So, he entered and concealed himself inside. The guard locked the door and hung the keys on a peg. At an opportune time 'Abdullah went back and unlocked the gate. Then he began to open the doors of the inner quarters that led to Abu Rāfi'. Everytime he entered through a door, he locked it behind him until he reached Abu Rāfi's quarters. He was seated among his family folks in a dark house. He couldn't make out who was who. So he called out, "O Abu Rāfi'!" Abu Rāfi' answered, "Who's that?" 'Abdullah slashed his sword in the direction of the voice. But it didn't strike at anything. So he changed his voice and called out again. Finally, he was able to locate him properly and managed to kill him without hurting his wife or children.

Then he began to retreat. But he was weak of eyesight and so fell from a staircase and broke his leg. He tied it up with his headcloth and managed to reach the others waiting outside. When they returned to the Prophet ﷺ and he saw them, he remarked, "These faces have succeeded." They told him the whole story. He asked 'Abdullah to stretch his leg and passed his hand over it. It became whole again as if he was never hurt.[5]

Biographers have differed between themselves over the date of this expedition. Wāqidi[6] has said that they left on a Monday, when four days were left of Dhul-Hijjah, forty-six months after *Hijrah*. Their expedition took ten days. Ibn Sa'd[7] has it however that it took place in Ramadān of the sixth year after *Hijrah*. Tabari writes that it was in the middle of Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah, the third year of *Hijrah*. Other opinions are that it took place in the fifth year; that it took place in the fourth year; that it took place in Rajab of the third year.[8]

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[5] A report of *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/215-219/H. 4039).

[6] *Al-Maghāzi* (1/391).

[7] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/91), Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

[8] Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (15/214), and the report of this expedition was mentioned by Ibn Ishāq taking it from a narrative of Zuhri, coming through 'Abdullah bin Ka'b—*Ibn Hishām* (3/380); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/91-92); Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/80-81); Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/407-410), and *Al-Wāqidi* (1/391-395). See their additional points over the report of Bukhāri.

However, the most likely date is after the Banu Qurayzah expedition, for Abu Rāfi' had played a significant role in the attack on Madinah by the confederate tribes. And the Prophet ﷺ was through with the affairs of Banu Qurayzah by the middle of Dhul-Qa'dah. In any case, so far as my knowledge goes, no trustworthy *Hadith* collection mentions the date.

Muhammad bin Maslamah's Expedition to Qurta'

The Prophet ﷺ sent Muhammad bin Maslamah along with thirty riders to attack the Qurta' clan which belonged to the Banu Bakr bin Kilāb tribe. This was on the tenth of Muharram in the sixth year after *Hijrah*, fifty-nine months after *Hijrah*.[9] They traveled towards them in secrecy, concealing themselves during the day and traveling at night. Arriving on a sudden, and surprising them, they were able to kill ten of them while the rest fled leaving their cattle behind as booty.

While on their return journey, they met with Thumāmah bin Uthāl Hanafi, the chief of the Hanifah tribe. They captured him without knowing who he was and when they arrived at Madinah, bound him by one of the posts of the mosque. When the Prophet ﷺ came in he asked, "What have you?" He replied, "If you kill me, you will kill a man who killed others, but if you spare me, you will find me a grateful man. However, if you are looking for wealth, ask, and you will be given." The Prophet ﷺ left him there. The next day he asked him the same question and he replied in the same manner.

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[9] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/534) who believes that it took place fifty-five months after *Hijrah*; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/78) *Mu'allaq*, who thought it was after fifty-nine months. For, Ibn Kathir saw in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/168), the story of Thumāmah in the report of Abu Hurayrah ﷺ as happening after Khayber. See Dhahabi's *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 351, where the additions lend the understanding that Abu Hurayrah was there at Khayber.

The Prophet ﷺ ordered that the man be released. Thumāmah went into an orchard, bathed himself and came back to the mosque to embrace Islam. He confessed that from that day the Prophet's face was the dearest to him in the world, that his religion was the dearest to him, and that his town was dearest to him than any other, although, earlier, all these things were the most hateful to him in the world. He also said that he was in fact heading for Makkah to perform *'Umrah* when he was captured. The Prophet ﷺ allowed him to proceed. When he reached Makkah someone asked, "Have you adopted the new religion, Thumāmah?" He answered, "Rather, I have submitted." He also swore that not a single grain will come to them from Yamāmah without the Prophet's permission.[10] So they wrote to the Prophet ﷺ, adjuring him by kinship that he should write to Thumāmah to let the food articles get through. The Prophet ﷺ allowed it.[11]

Notes on Thumāmah's Story

Ibn Hajar[12] has said, "There are several things to be learned from Thumāmah's story:

(1) A disbeliever can be tied up in a mosque.

(2) To be good to a captured disbeliever.

(3) The effect of forgiveness. Thumāmah swore that his hatred had

[10] A narration of *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/210-211/H. 4372); *Muslim* (3/1386/H. 1764); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/88-90); *Abu Dāwud* (3/129/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 1764); Ibn Shabbah in *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/433-439) through the same transmission chain as in *Al-Bukhāri*, and in same words; Ibn Ishāq reaching the last narrator—*Ibn Hishām* (3/380-381). Ibn Shabbah added through his Shaykh Fulayh bin Muhammad and Ibn Ishāq that when he was in imprisonment, they gathered together what the households of the Prophet ﷺ could afford, but he did not eat much. They were surprised and the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "A disbeliever eats into seven intestines while a believer eats into one intestine."

[11] Being of the additions of *Ibn Hishām* on Ibn Ishāq's *Sirat* (2/381), a *Mu'allaq* report.

[12] *Al-Fath* (16/212/The Book of *Maghāzi*/H. 4372).

turned into love, moments after the Prophet ﷺ forgave him.

(4) A bath before embracing Islam.

(5) When a disbeliever starts on a good deed, but on the way to doing it he embraces Islam, he should proceed with it.

(6) Kindness towards those of the captured whose Islam is hoped for, especially when it is expected that many people influenced by him will follow his precedence.

(7) Legality of sending sorties into the enemy lands, capturing whomsoever possible and then either killing him or letting him off.

Banu Lihyān Expedition

Banu Lihyān was the tribe that had acted treacherously towards Khubayb and others. So far, if the Prophet ﷺ had spared them it was because their territory was close to Makkah. On the other side of their territory, they were protected by other tribes. But, after the failed Trench expedition, when the Prophet ﷺ felt weakness in his enemies, he came out with 200 of his followers. That was in Rabi'ul-Awwal, or Jumāda Al-Ula of the sixth year after *Hijrah*.[13] Initially he marched towards the north to mislead his enemies, as if he was going to Shām. Then he suddenly changed direction and quickly arrived at the Ghurān area, a valley between Amaja and 'Usfān, exactly where his Companions had been struck earlier. He supplicated for them there. Meanwhile, the Banu Lihyān heard of him and fled to the mountain tops. He couldn't capture a single

[13] This is in *Ibn Sa'd* (2/79) reporting his master 'Āsim bin 'Umar and 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr, he from 'Abdullah bin Ka'b, and is therefore weak because of failure to mention the name and because of cropping off the first narrator. Ibn Sa'd's report clearly mentions that he came out in Jumāda Al-Ula, six months after the Banu Qurayzah campaign—*Ibn Hishām* (3/387). *Al-Wāqidi* (2/535) maintained that the Prophet ﷺ left Madinah at the beginning of Rabi'ul-Awwal in the sixth year after *Hijrah*. This has a Suspended chain.

soul. So he moved on to ʻUsfān and sent two horsemen[14] to the Kura' Al-Ghamim[15] so that the Quraysh may hear about his movements and be in fear.[16]

At ʻUsfān a group of pagans met him. They were led by Khālid bin Walid. When he did his noon prayer there,[17] the pagans said to themselves that they could have as well attacked them when they were in prayer. Somebody told them that they are likely to pray again soon. It is dearer to them than their wives and children. But Jibril came down with these Verses,

﴿وَإِذَا كُنتَ فِيهِمْ فَأَقَمْتَ لَهُمُ ٱلصَّلَوٰةَ فَلْتَقُمْ طَآئِفَةٌ مِّنْهُم مَّعَكَ
وَلْيَأْخُذُوٓا۟ أَسْلِحَتَهُمْ فَإِذَا سَجَدُوا۟ فَلْيَكُونُوا۟ مِن وَرَآئِكُمْ وَلْتَأْتِ طَآئِفَةٌ
أُخْرَىٰ لَمْ يُصَلُّوا۟ فَلْيُصَلُّوا۟ مَعَكَ وَلْيَأْخُذُوا۟ حِذْرَهُمْ وَأَسْلِحَتَهُمْ وَدَّ ٱلَّذِينَ
كَفَرُوا۟ لَوْ تَغْفُلُونَ عَنْ أَسْلِحَتِكُمْ وَأَمْتِعَتِكُمْ فَيَمِيلُونَ عَلَيْكُم مَّيْلَةً وَٰحِدَةً وَلَا
جُنَاحَ عَلَيْكُمْ إِن كَانَ بِكُمْ أَذًى مِّن مَّطَرٍ أَوْ كُنتُم مَّرْضَىٰٓ أَن تَضَعُوٓا۟
أَسْلِحَتَكُمْ وَخُذُوا۟ حِذْرَكُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ أَعَدَّ لِلْكَـٰفِرِينَ عَذَابًا مُّهِينًا﴾

"And if you are with them and stand up for prayers, and if you (O Prophet) happen to be among them and conduct the prayer, then, let a group of them join up with you, wearing their weapons on them. When they have completed a cycle (Raka'ah), let them withdraw to your rear while the other group that hasn't prayed join up and pray with you, observing every precaution and wearing their weapons on them. The disbelievers wish that if you neglect your weapons and equipment, they launch upon you a single massive attack. However, there is no sin upon you if you are inconvenienced by rains, or because you are sick, that you lay aside your weapons (while praying). Nevertheless, take your precautions. Allāh has prepared for the disbelievers a humiliating chastisement."[18, 19]

[14] A narration of Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (3/388), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/79), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/536) that they were ten.

[15] A place eight miles south of ʻUsfān near Makkah.

[16] A narration of Wāqidi. From here onward the details about this campaign has been reported by Ibn Isḥāq through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/387-389), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/78-80) and in brief and through another chain, *Al-Wāqidi* (2/535-537).

[17] It was *'Asr* prayer.

It is said that this was the first prayer in the situation of fear (*Salātul-Khawf*) that the Prophet ﷺ offered.[20] The scholars have explained in detail how this prayer is to be offered and when.[21]

Notes:

1. Legality of shortening the prayers in situations of fear.
2. Legality of retaliation and killing those who act treacherously.
3. Legality of concealing intentions from the enemy.
4. Legality of driving fear into the enemy by raiding his territory.[22]

ʻUkkāshah bin Mihsan's Expedition to Ghamr

The Prophet ﷺ sent ʻUkkāshah bin Mihsan at the head of forty men to Ghamr[23] in Rabiʻul-Awwal or Rabiʻuth-Thāni, of the sixth year AH. They marched at a very fast pace and were able to frighten off their enemies, who fled. ʻUkkāshah pitched his camp at their

[18] *Surat An-Nisa'*: 102.

[19] A report in Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/59-60) through two routes, meeting with the conditions of the *Shaykhayn* as said Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/93). Shaykh Shākir declared it reliable in his verification of *Tafsir* of Tabari (9/131-132). The *Hadith* has been traced by others by other routes. See his footnotes, pp. 132-133.

[20] *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/94).

[21] See this in the commentary on these two Verses (101, 102) in *At-Tabari* (9/127-162/Shākir) and in *Al-Bidāyah* of Ibn Kathir (4/93-94) and his *Tafsir* (2/350-356). Hukami prefers in *Marwiyyātul-Hudaybiyah*, pp. 115-132, that the first prayer in fear that the Prophet ﷺ offered was in ʻUsfān in Hudaybiyah. The element of doubt is because of the similarity of the Banu Lihyān campaign and that of Hudaybiyah and that the report about the prayers in ʻUsfān was not connected with Hudaybiyah. We shall more have to say on this later, Allāh willing.

[22] See: *Hadhal-Habib Muhammad ﷺ Ya Muhibb*, p. 326.

[23] One of the waters of Banu Asad.

waters but couldn't lay his hands on their cattle. He sent across scouts who found someone who knew where they had concealed some of their cattle. They drove them to Madinah.[24]

Muhammad bin Maslamah's Expedition to Dhul-Qassah[25]

In the Rabi'uth-Thāni of the same year, the Prophet ﷺ sent Ibn Maslamah along with ten Companions towards Banu Tha'labah and 'Uwāl of the Tha'labah. Those people hid themselves until the Muslims went to sleep and then attacked them and killed everyone of them except Muahmmad bin Maslamah, for he fell injured, and they thought he was dead. Someone passed by the Muslims and uttered aloud, "To Allāh we belong and to Him we shall return." When Ibn Maslamah heard that he made some movement. The man was a Muslim. He fed and watered him and then carried him to Madinah. So the Prophet ﷺ sent Abu 'Ubaydah bin Jarrah at the head of forty men to the same place. But they did not find anyone except for some cattle which they captured and brought to Madinah.[26]

Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Banu Sulaym in Jamum

The Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd bin Hārith in Rabi'uth-Thāni of the year 6 AH towards Jamum, a place somewhere on the left side of Batn Nakhl. They captured a woman called Halimah. She gave them information about their dwellings in the area inhabited by Banu Sulaym. They were able to capture some men as well as cattle from that area. One of the captured was the husband of Halimah of the Muzani tribe (who had guided them). When Zayd returned with his booty, the Prophet ﷺ gifted the woman to her husband and freed them both.[27]

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[24] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/85) without a chain—*Tārikh Khalifah bin Khayyāt*, p. 85.

[25] A place twenty-four miles away from Madinah on the way to Rabadhah.

[26] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/551); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/85); *At-Tabari* (22/461) in his *Tārikh* taking it from *Al-Wāqidi* (2/461) who stated that it was in Rabi'ul-Awwal, but maybe Tabari committed an error in lifting the report from Wāqidi.

[27] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/86), without a chain.

Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to 'Eis[28]

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Jumāda Al-Ula of the sixth year after *Hijrah* along with seventy riders to intercept a Quraysh caravan that was said to be returning from Shām. They were able to overpower them and capture their men and their belongings. A huge amount of silver belonging to Safwān bin Umaiyah was seized. One of those who were captured was Abul-'Ās bin Rabi'. They were all brought to Madinah. Abul-'Ās sought the protection and guarantee of his wife Zaynab ؓ, the Prophet's daughter, which she granted. The Prophet ﷺ accepted her protection-promise and returned him his belongings.[29] Abul-'Ās went back to Makkah, returned to everyone the things he was entrusted with, pronounced the testimony and addressed the pagans in words, "Nothing prevented me from staying back in Madinah except that I feared you will say I embraced Islam to rob you of your money." Then he returned to Madinah and the Prophet ﷺ allowed his daughter Zaynab to remain in his marriage, without conducting a new one.[30]

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[28] A place at four days of journey from Madinah.

[29] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/87) *Mu'allaq*, and Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (2/365-368) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/553-554) added the news of Abul-'Ās embracing Islam and the Prophet ﷺ restoring him back his wife. The case of protection has been recorded by Ibn Ishāq without a chain. He reported the story of the return of his wealth through a *Munqati'* chain. Yet he reported the story of Zaynab being given to him on the basis of the pre-Islamic marriage through a *Muttasil* chain in which he mentioned whom he heard from. Nevertheless, in the chain falls Dāwud bin Husayn whose credentials have been questioned, as in *Tahdhib* (3/681). Of those who wrote about the marriage with the same transmission chain as Ibn Ishāq: Tirmidhi (2/305) who said, "This is a report of whose chain there is nothing wrong." The report was reported through chains different from that of Ibn Ishāq by Sa'eed bin Mansur in his *Sunan* (2/73) as a *Mursal* one from Sha'bi. Perhaps Ibn Ishāq's own report gets stronger because of this one for Sha'bi's *Mursal* reports were acceptable to some of the major *Hadith* scholars. See Abu Dāwud's book *Marāsil*, verified by 'Abdul-'Aziz Sirwān, p. 44. Ibn Kathir expressed his opinion in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/201) that the Islam of Abul-'Ās was in the eighth year after *Hijrah* that is, the year of the fall of Makkah and not as Wāqidi maintained in the sixth year

[30] Ibn Ishāq with a *Muttasil* chain in which falls Ibn Husayn—*Ibn Hishām* (3/368).

Suhayli has said in *Rawdul-Unf* (3/69), "Dāwud bin Husayn has reported through 'Ikrimah and he through Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ that the Prophet ﷺ allowed Zaynab ﷺ to live with Abul-'Ās without a fresh marriage after the lapse of six years. However, what 'Amr bin Shu'ayb reports contradicts this. He reports through his father and he through his father that the Prophet ﷺ conducted a new marriage. And, this *Hadith* is used as the guiding principle although Dāwud bin Husayn's report is stronger in the chain of narration. But, none of the scholars have, in my knowledge ruled in this way. For, Islam had enforced the dissolution of marriage. Allāh (ﷻ) said, '*Neither are those (pagan women) lawful for those (Muslim men), nor are those (pagan men) lawful for those (Muslim women).*' Trying to reconcile the two reports, Ibn 'Abbās has said that the meaning is that the Prophet ﷺ gave her back to him on the same conditions of marriage as the older one, meaning, conducting a new marriage on old conditions of dower, etc., without any addition. Hafiz Mughalta'i bin Qalij has said in his book *A Few Events of the Prophet's Life and the History of his Successors*, (ed. Nizamuddin Futayyih, first print, Dar al-Qalam, Shām and Dar al-Shamiyyah, Beirut, 1416/1966, vol. 1, p. 96), 'The Prophet gave Zaynab back to him under the older marriage, after two years. Some say after six years. Another opinion says it was after the lapse of the waiting period, as said Ibn 'Uqbah.' The editor - Futayyih - said, 'The Tradition collectors have a variety of reports on this issue.'"

A Rule

With the precedence of Zaynab ﷺ and Ibn Rabi' before them, the scholars have judged that if a Muslim woman migrates in the way of Allāh (ﷻ) from the country of the disbelievers, to a Muslim country, while her husband stays back, being a disbeliever, then, she will be returned to the husband if he too embraces Islam and migrates to the Muslim land before the woman has passed through three of her periods. Emigration in the way of Allāh does not separate husband and wife. Further, the rule remains in force even if the husband remains a disbeliever for a long time, beyond the period of waiting. He can retain his wife after his Islam, even after a long period, if he so wishes, and, if she is not married off in the meantime.[31]

[31] See Sayyid Sābiq: *Fiqhus-Sunnah* (2/239-240). He has some important details.

Zayd bin Harithah's Expedition to Tarif[32]

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah, the sixth year AH, along with fifteen men towards Banu Tha'labah who lived in the Tarif area. While the tribesmen fled, because they thought the Prophet ﷺ was among them, Zayd was able to capture sheep and goat. They returned with the booty without a fight having taken place.[33]

Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Judhām in Hisma[34]

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah of the sixth year towards Dali', being one of the Judhām. This was in response to their attack on Dihyah Kalbi. Dihyah Kalbi had been sent by the Prophet ﷺ to the Roman emperor to deliver the message of Islam. While he was on his return journey, he was attacked by Dali' people who confiscated his goods. Dihyah had complained to the Prophet ﷺ before entering his house.[35]

Now, it is proven by trustworthy reports that Dihyah Kalbi was sent by the Prophet ﷺ to Heraclius (the Roman emperor) some time after the Hudaybiyah peace treaty. This we shall discuss in detail in the chapter on Prophetic delegations. We do not consider, therefore, the opinion of those historians as strong who said that the Prophet ﷺ sent him to Heraclius in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah, 6 AH.

Zayd's Expedition to the Qura Valley[36]

This took place in Rajab, 6 AH.[37]

[32] A watering place close to Marqa, before Marād, beyond the palm grove, thirty-six miles away from Madinah–*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (4 /31), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/87).

[33] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/87) *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/555).

[34] A semidesert area in Shām, it is at a distance of two-nights journey from Qura valley. People of Tabuk have the Husma Mount on their west, *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/258-59).

[35] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*, it requires some details – *Ibn Hishām* (4/345), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/88) also *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/555).

[36] A valley between Shām and Madinah, between Tayma' and Khayber which has many villages, the reason why it was called Wādi Al-Qura (the valley of villages) – *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (5/345)

[37] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/89), very briefly.

The Expedition of 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf to Dumatul-Jandal

In Sha'bān of the sixth year after *Hijrah*, the Prophet ﷺ sent for 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf ؓ. He made him sit before himself, tied the turban on his head by his own hand and said, "In the Name of Allāh, and in the path of Allāh. Fight those who deny Allāh. Do not deceive. Do not act treacherously. And do not kill children." He ordered him to head for Dumatul-Jandal. Later he told him, "If they respond well, marry one of the daughters of their ruler." So 'Abdur-Rahmān went up to them and stayed three days inviting them to Islam. Their chief Asbagh bin 'Amr Kalbi embraced Islam. He was earlier a Christian. A huge number of people followed him in embracing the new religion. Some tribes agreed to pay *Jizyah*. 'Abdur-Rahmān married Tumādir, a daughter of Asbagh and brought her to Madinah. She is known as the mother of Abu Salamah, 'Abdur-Rahmān's son.[38]

'Ali bin Abu Tālib's Expedition to Banu 'Abdullah bin Sa'd bin Bakr of Fadak

The Prophet ﷺ sent him in Sha'bān of year 6 AH when he heard that a huge number of people were being recruited to help the Jews of Khayber. 'Ali ؓ went with a hundred men. He used to travel by night and conceal himself during the day. He happened to capture a spy on the way who admitted he was heading towards Khayber with the message that the Fadak people would help the Jews in return of a certain amount of Khayber dates. When the Muslims assured him that his life was spared, he led them to where they were. They attacked them. Banu Sa'd fled to Zu'n leaving behind them five hundred camels and two thousand goats.[39]

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[38] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/89) *Mu'allaq*, Ibn Ishāq through a *Munqati'* chain. He did not state the direction of the campaigners. *Ibn Hishām* (4/369-71) added as a *Mu'allaq* report, that it was the campaign of Dumatul-Jandal; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/560) through a *Muttasil* chain.

[39] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/562-564), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/89-90), *Mu'allaq*, Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq* and in brief–*Ibn Hishām* (4/344).

Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Banu Fazārah

Ibn Hishām[40] has reported on the authority of Ibn Ishāq that Zayd met with some Banu Fazārah men in a fight that took place in the Qura valley. Some of his companions were martyred. Zayd himself was picked up from among the dead, hardly breathing. Zayd swore that he will not go near a woman until he had fought the Banu Fazārah again. (This seems to be the expedition to Qura valley in Rajab, 6 AH that Ibn Sa'd[41] speaks of.) When Allāh (ﷻ) cured him and he recovered from his wounds, the Prophet ﷺ sent him towards Banu Fazārah once again. He met them in a valley and killed a few of them. Qays bin Musahhar Ya'mari killed Mas'adah bin Hakamah bin Mālilk bin Hudhayfah bin Badr. And Umm Qirfah was taken prisoner. Her name was Fātimah. She was a daughter of Rabi'ah bin Badr. She was an old woman married to Mālik bin Hudhayfah bin Badr. She was in the company of a daughter and a son called 'Abdullah bin Mas'adah. Zayd ordered Musahhar to kill Umm Qirfah, which he did. Thereafter they returned to the Prophet ﷺ carrying with them her daughter and Mas'adah's son.

Dhahabi[42] has reported a shortened version, which is in Ibn Ishāq. He mentions therein that the reason for Zayd's expedition was that Umm Qirfah of the Fazārah tribe had armed forty horsemen from among her sons and grandsons and sent them to assassinate the Prophet ﷺ. In response, the Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd bin Hārithah towards them. One report says it was Zayd ؓ who killed them along with Umm Qirfah and then sent her blouse to the Prophet ﷺ who hung it between two spears. When Zayd reached Madinah, the Prophet ﷺ got up to receive him and kissed his forehead in joy over the victory.

Wāqidi[43] gives us a third reason for the expedition, giving

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[40] *As-Sirat* (4/351), *Mu'allaq*.

[41] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/89), *Mu'allaq*.

[42] *Siyar A'lām An-Nubala'* (2/227-228) through a weak chain because of Ibrāhim bin Yahya and his father. And Ibn Ishāq did not name the first narrator.

[43] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/564-65) with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

details different from those of Ibn Ishāq. He writes that Zayd went out for Shām carrying some people's goods. When he was around the Qura valley the Banu Fazārah of the Banu Badr attacked them, molested them and took away their goods. In response, the Prophet ﷺ sent him again. He was able to overcome them and captured Umm Qirfah, and her daughter by Mālik. Salamah bin Akwa' received the girl as his share. However, the Prophet ﷺ asked him to release her for his discretion. When he freed her, the Prophet ﷺ gave her to Hazn bin Abu Wahb. The expedition itself took place in Ramadān of the year 6 AH.

Ibn Ishāq[44] mentions in a third report, as also does Wāqidi, that Qays bin Musahhar killed Umm Qirfah in a merciless manner. He tied her legs to two camels and made the beasts run in opposite directions, although she was an old woman. He also killed 'Abdullah bin Mas'adah as also Qays bin Nu'mān bin Mas'adah bin Hakamah bin Mālik bin Badr. Wāqidi[45] also reported that when Zayd returned to the Prophet ﷺ while he was in 'Āishah's house, he rose up dragging his clothes, partly exposed, and embraced Zayd and kissed him. Then he asked him for the news.

It might be seen that some of the details as reported by Wāqidi agree with Ibn Ishāq's narration although they disagree over the reason of the expedition. We may also point out that Ibn Ishāq's report from whom Tabari reproduced, is in agreement with Wāqidi in how Umm Qirfah was killed. However, both the narrations are completely untrustworthy. Ibn Ishāq's chain of narration is weak because it does not have a Companion reporting it directly, and because Ibn Humayd, an untrustworthy narrator, is in the chain of narration. As for Wāqidi, he never mentioned any chain of narrators. Further, even if he had a chain of narrators, he himself

[44] Reported by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/643) being a report coming from Ibn Humayd, and he through Salamah. It stops at 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr. Thus it is Disconnected (*Mursal*) and hence weak. Nevertheless, this narrative agrees with the previous one which Ibn Hishām presented and which has greater details about how Umm Qirfah was killed: the same details as Wāqidi has.

[45] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/565), *Mu'allaq*, ascribed to 'Āishah ﷺ.

is an untrustworthy reporter. Further, the manner of killing disagrees with the Prophetic commandments in this regard. He had prohibited that women be killed, especially in the manner described. Further, none of the reports say that Umm Qirfah took part in the battle.

However, if it is proved that Umm Qirfah was in the battle ranks, then, she could have been killed, but not in the manner reported.

Further, Muslim,[46] Ahmad,[47] Bayhaqi[48] and Tabari[49] have reported through trustworthy chain of narrators about the slave girl and her mother that the historians have also reported. But they report that the expedition was led by Abu Bakr ﷺ, and that the girl was gifted by Salamah ﷺ to the Prophet ﷺ, and the Prophet ﷺ exchanged her with some of the Muslims that were in captivity with the pagans. They don't mention the name of the girl's mother, nor anything about her mother's killing. Now, if the two are not speaking of two different expeditions, then that of the Traditionists is acceptable since it agrees with the Prophetic instruction regarding treatment of women captives.

As for the reports of the historians, firstly, their reports are very confusing, and secondly, they disagree with the Prophetic instructions which prohibited women's killing or disfiguring them. In addition, from the point of view of the narrators involved, the reports are inauthentic.[50]

'Abdullah bin Rawāhah's Expedition towards Yusayr bin Rizām, the Jew

News reached the Prophet ﷺ that Yusayr bin Rizām, a Jew,

[46] *Muslim* (3/1375-1376/H. 1755).

[47] Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/264)

[48] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (4/290).

[49] *Tārikh* (2/643-644). It is the second report on this topic. The first one that he mentioned is that of Ibn Ishāq which gives the details of how Umm Qirfah was killed.

[50] See: Dr. Abdul-Aziz Hallābi, *Sariyyah Zayd bin Hārithah ila Bani Fazārah*,

who was elected chief of the Khayber Jews after Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, was once again gathering forces in league with the Ghatafān to attack Madinah. The Prophet ﷺ named thirty men headed by 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah. One of the thirty was 'Abdullah bin Unays. They went up to Yusayr and told him that the Prophet ﷺ would like to appoint him the chief of the Khayber Jews. They persisted until he came out with thirty of his men and started out in a manner that each of his men was accompanied by a Muslim sent from Madinah, a pair on one camel. Yusayr was on the same camel as 'Abdullah bin Unays. When they reached Qarqarata Thibār, some six miles off Khayber, Yusayr felt regretful that he should be going to the Prophet ﷺ. He tried to grab Ibn Unays' sword. Ibn Unays in turn attacked him and hitting with his sword severed one of his legs. Yusayr hit Ibn Unays with a scythe-like wooden weapon on the head and split it. With that, every Muslim went after the Jew that was with him. They killed everyone of them except one, who escaped on his feet. When Ibn Unays presented himself to the Prophet ﷺ on return, he spat on his wound. It did not fester and did not cause him pain.[51]

Dirāsah Naqadiyyah lir-Riwāyātit-Tārikhiyyah, Majallatu Kulliyatil-Ādāb, King Sa'ud University, 1986, pp. 61-82. It is a valuable study worthy reading. He missed to note Ibn Ishāq's report in Tabari's *Tārikh* in reference to the killing of Umm Qirfah. This report agrees with that of Waqidi in this regard.

[51] Reported by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/352-353); Ibn Sa'd (2/92), *Mu'allaq*, who did not mention the Prophet ﷺ spitting on the wound of Ibn Unays; 'Urwah from whom Abul-Aswad in whose chain falls Ibn Lahiy'ah whose reliability was disputed and hence whose narratives are *Hasan* if not for *Mursal* (*Maghāzi*, 'Urwah, p. 196); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/293-294); Abu Nu'aym in his *Dalā'il* (2/516-517), Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/274); Musa bin 'Uqbah from Zuhri, *Mursal* what Bayhaqi mentioned in his *Dalā'il* (4/294); Ibn Kathir in (4/247). And Sa'eed bin Mansur reported it as a *Mursal* report of Buraydah bin Sufyān as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (8/383). It might be noted that the printed sources differ between themselves over the leader of this campaign and over the name of the Jew. Ibn Ishāq, Ibn 'Uqbah, Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd are in agreement that its leader was Ibn Rawāhah. However 'Urwah mentions it as Ibn 'Atik. So also, Ibn 'Uqbah, Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd in

This expedition took place in Shawwāl, 6 AH.[52]

Kurz bin Jābir Fihri's Expedition to 'Uraynah

A group of people from 'Ukl[53] and 'Uraynah[54] presented themselves to the Prophet ﷺ in Shawwal, 6 AH,[55] and entered into Islam. They said, "O Prophet of Allāh. We are shepherds and not farmers," and said they felt ill in Madinah. So the Prophet ﷺ gave them some camels[56] along with a shepherd to look after them and ordered them to camp outside the town, drink their milk and rub themselves with the cattle's urine. They left. But when they were at Harrah, they apostatized, killed the shepherd and fled with the camels. The Prophet ﷺ sent his men behind them who managed to capture them.[57] He ordered that they be blinded with needles, their hands and feet be severed and left in the sun until they die. Qatādah,

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agreement that the name of the Jew was Yusayr bin Rizām whereas 'Urwah mentions it as Bishr bin Rizām. Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd have it as Yusayr bin Rizām. Maybe 'Urwah has suffered some distortion in the names, while Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd in the second name. Wāqidi from a narration of 'Urwah (2/566-567) gave more details, viz., the Prophet ﷺ first sent Ibn Rawāhah to Khayber in Ramadān among three men to collect information. He came back with the news that Yusayr bin Rizām was trying to gather Ghatafān and invade Al-Madinah. Thereafter Khārijah bin Husayl Ashja'i was asked by the Prophet ﷺ to gather news what Yusayr was making preparations to attack Madinah along with a Jewish force. These details show how important it was for the Muslims to conquer Khayber which hadn't been achieved this far.

[52] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/566).

[53] 'Ukl is a tribe from Taymur-Ribāb.

[54] 'Uraynah was a neighborhood in Bajilah.

[55] Being a narration of *Al-Wāqidi* (2/568) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/93), both *Mu'allaq* reports.

[56] The textual *Zaud* is for female camels when they are between three and ten. Some have said the number as between two and nine. They must all be she-camels and not male.

[57] According to the narration of the war chroniclers and biographers, he sent after them Kurz bin Jābir Fihri, among twenty horsemen, and that the name of the shepherd was Yasār: Ibn Ishāq, through a weak chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/383-384); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/93), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/569).

the narrator says, "We received reports that thereafter the Prophet ﷺ used to invoke people to charity and prohibit them from disfiguring."[58] According to another report, "This was before Allāh sent the commandments pertaining to capital punishments."[59] Abu Qilabāh said in his version of report, "These people had committed theft, murder, disbelieved after having believed, and waged war against Allāh and His Messenger."[60]

The majority of scholars say that the following Verse,

﴿إِنَّمَا جَزَٰٓؤُاْ ٱلَّذِينَ يُحَارِبُونَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥ وَيَسْعَوْنَ فِى ٱلْأَرْضِ فَسَادًا أَن يُقَتَّلُوٓاْ أَوْ يُصَلَّبُوٓاْ أَوْ تُقَطَّعَ أَيْدِيهِمْ وَأَرْجُلُهُم مِّنْ خِلَٰفٍ أَوْ يُنفَوْاْ مِنَ ٱلْأَرْضِ﴾

"Surely, the retribution of those who wage war against Allāh and His Messenger, and who strive to spread corruption in the land is that they should be crucified, or their hands and feet cut from the opposite sides, or expelled from the land."[61]

was revealed in connection with the 'Uraynah[62] affair.[63]

'Amr bin Umaiyah Damri's Expedition to finish off Abu Sufyān

Abu Sufyān expressed the desire to get the Prophet ﷺ assassinated. A Bedouin offered him his services. Abu Sufyān

[58] This *Hadith* was reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/34/H. 4192).

[59] Ibid: (21/258-259/H. 5685, 5686).

[60] Ibid: (25/253-254/H. 6805). The story was reported by *Muslim* (3/1296-1298/H. 1671) and the rest of the six canonical collectors: Abu Dāwud, Tirmidhi, Nasa'i and Ibn Mājah, as also by the war chroniclers. See Tabari: *Tafsir* (10/244-353).

[61] *Surat Al-Mā'idah*: 33.

[62] See Sayyid Sabiq: *Fiqhus-Sunnah* (2/471). For greater details and discussions of various narratives, see Shāmi: *Subulul-Huda war-Rashad* (6/181-190).

[63] See Tabari: *Tafsir* (10/242-244) who mentioned other reasons behind this revelation. As for Shāmi, he collected together all the reports from their various sources.

provided him with a camel and provision and told him to keep the matter top secret. The man showed up at Madinah after six days. He asked to speak to the Prophet ﷺ and was led to the Prophet ﷺ while he was in the mosque of the 'Abdul-Ashhal tribe. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him he said, "This man has treachery up his sleeve but Allāh is a shield between him and what he intends." When the Bedouin tried to get closer, Usayd bin Hudayr pulled him back. They found a dagger concealed in his clothes. It fell off the Bedouin's hand. The Prophet ﷺ told him that he would forgive him if he spoke the truth about his mission. So he told him about his mission and what Abu Sufyān had promised to give him if he succeeded. The Prophet ﷺ let him off and the man became a Muslim.

In retaliation, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr bin Umaiyah and Salamah bin Aslam bin Harish to kill Abu Sufyān. They went to Makkah. But after they had circumambulated the House and had done their prayers, someone recognized 'Amr. They tried to kill them both but they escaped back to Madinah.[64]

The Khabat[65] Expedition to Sifil-Bahr

The Prophet ﷺ sent a force of three hundred men, commanded by Abu 'Ubaydah bin Jarrah to intercept a Quraysh caravan. On their way they ran short of their provision. Abu 'Ubaydah got collected whatever was left of the provision, which was mostly dates, and fed them therefrom until that was also

[64] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/93-94) and *Ibn Hishām* (4/372-375) *Mu'allaq*, which does not include the story of Abu Sufyān and the Bedouin; Ishāq bin Rāhwayh in his *Musnad* through a chain consisting of unknown narrators as stated in *Al-Matālibul-'Āliyah* (4/231-234); Bayhaqi in his *Sunan* (9/213), in brief and a chain in which falls Wāqidi; Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/542-545) through Ibn Ishaq in whose chain falls Ja'far bin Fadl, whose biography no one wrote; and Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/333-334), through a chain in which falls Wāqidi.

[65] *Khabt* of the original is for leaves of acacia and other similar trees. A stick is used to strike the leaves to make them fall to be given to cattle as fodder.

exhausted. So he fixed it as one date a day per person. Finally, that also got exhausted and they were forced to eat leaves of the trees. Hence it came to be known as the *Khabat* (leaves) expedition. In the next step they began to slaughter their camels. But, Abu 'Ubaydah feared that they would run out of them and so he prohibited their slaughter. In about fifteen days time they had reached the seashore. There, Allāh (ﷻ) sent them a huge whale. It had surfaced and died. They ate thereof for fifteen more days and recovered their strength. Abu 'Ubaydah got one of its ribs fixed on the ground and it was so large that a rider could pass through it. In any case, they didn't meet any enemy and so they returned without an encounter. When they mentioned the story of the whale, the Prophet ﷺ told them, "A provision provided by Allāh. Give us some of it if you have brought any." They sent him some of its meat and he ate thereof.[66]

This expedition seems to have taken place before Hudaybiyah treaty and not in Rajab the 8th year AH, as is the opinion of Ibn Sa'd.[67] This is for two reasons. One, the Prophet ﷺ normally did not go out in an expedition, nor sent a sortie in the consecrated months. Second, Rajab of the 8th year AH was after the Hudaybiyah treaty (when hostilities were disallowed by treaty).[68]

However, Ibn Sa'd and Wāqidi[69] have mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ sent them to the Juhaynah tribe. Ibn Hajar[70] added, "This does not contradict with what is reported in *Sahih* works. It is possible that they were expecting to meet with the caravan while on

[66] Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/198-203/H. 4360-4362); *Muslim* (3/1535-1537/H. 1935), both following a variety of chains; Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain–*Ibn Hishām* (4/371-372); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/141-142) and others.

[67] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/132) a *Mu'allaq* report. But Dhahabi thought it was an assumption. See *Al-Maghāzi* by Dhahabi, p. 519. Ibn Qaiyim attributed error to Ibn Sayyidin-Nās for following Ibn Sa'd in agreeing to this date *Zād* (3/389).

[68] See Ibn Qaiyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/389-390), and Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 125.

[69] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/774).

[70] *Al-Fath* (16/199).

their way to attack the Juhaynah. It is also possible that they were not sent to intercept the caravan, rather, to prevent them from the Juhaynah attack. This idea is strengthened by the report in *Muslim*[71] that says that they were in actual fact sent to Juhaynah."

A lesson that we can draw from this event is that the Prophet's own partaking of the whale meat proves that the dead of the sea is lawful.[72]

[71] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1537/H. 1935).

[72] See this in chapters dealing with foods, in the books of *Hadith* and *Fiqh*.

Chapter **13**

The Hudaybiyah[1] Expedition

Events of the Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions left for Makkah intending to perform *'Umrah*[2] (the lesser pilgrimage), on Monday, the first day of Dhul-Qa'dah of the sixth year after *Hijrah*.[3]

The Prophet ﷺ was apprehensive that either the Quraysh would try to fight him or, in the least, prevent his entry into Makkah. So he suggested to the tribes around Madinah to also

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[1] Hudaybiyah: name of a well twenty-two kilometers northwest of Makkah. It is now called as Shumaysi. It includes the groves of Hudaybiyah and the Ridwān mosque. See *Nasb Harb*, p. 350.

[2] That is *'Umrah* of the Hudaybiyah when the polytheists turned him back—*Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/86/H. 1778).

[3] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/573) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/95) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). That it was Monday, the beginning of Dhul-Qa'dah, is in Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/426). Also reported by Musa bin 'Uqbah, Zuhri and Qatādah, as in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (3/91). Musa bin 'Uqbah however was alone in saying through his father that the Prophet's departure for Hudaybiyah was in Ramadān and he reached the place in Shawwāl—Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/92) and Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/185). Bayhaqi also reported this in *Dalā'il* (3/90-91) through a *Hasan* chain but Disconnected (*Mursal*) coming from Nāfi'—the freed slave of Ibn 'Umar ﷺ. It says that it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, the 6 AH. That it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, has been asserted by a report in *Al-Bukhari/Al-Fath* (8/86). Thus the great majority believes it was in Dhul-Qa'dah, the sixth year after *Hijrah*.

travel along. But they delayed their departure. So he collected whomsoever he could of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* and a few others of the Arab[4] allies and started off. The Qur'ān said in reference to them,

﴿سَيَقُولُ لَكَ ٱلْمُخَلَّفُونَ مِنَ ٱلْأَعْرَابِ شَغَلَتْنَآ أَمْوَٰلُنَا وَأَهْلُونَا فَٱسْتَغْفِرْ لَنَا ۚ يَقُولُونَ بِأَلْسِنَتِهِم مَّا لَيْسَ فِى قُلُوبِهِمْ ۚ قُلْ فَمَن يَمْلِكُ لَكُم مِّنَ ٱللَّهِ شَيْـًٔا إِنْ أَرَادَ بِكُمْ ضَرًّا أَوْ أَرَادَ بِكُمْ نَفْعًۢا ۚ بَلْ كَانَ ٱللَّهُ بِمَا تَعْمَلُونَ خَبِيرًۢا ﴿١١﴾ بَلْ ظَنَنتُمْ أَن لَّن يَنقَلِبَ ٱلرَّسُولُ وَٱلْمُؤْمِنُونَ إِلَىٰٓ أَهْلِيهِمْ أَبَدًا وَزُيِّنَ ذَٰلِكَ فِى قُلُوبِكُمْ وَظَنَنتُمْ ظَنَّ ٱلسَّوْءِ وَكُنتُمْ قَوْمًۢا بُورًا﴾

"Those of the Bedouins who stayed behind will say to you, 'Our trades and home folk kept us busy, so seek forgiveness for us.' Say, 'Who can prevent you from Allāh if He wished you a loss, or intended a gain?' Rather, Allāh is Aware of what you do. In fact, you thought the Prophet and believers will never return to their home folk. That was made fair to you in your hearts, and you thought evil thoughts. In fact you are a destroyed people."[5]

Mujāhid[6] has said that the Bedouins that the Qur'ān alluded to were Juhaynah and Muzaynah tribes. Wāqidi[7] says those who were kept busy by their wealth, families and children were Banu Bakr, Muzaynah and Juhaynah tribes.

Bukhāri's[8] report leads one to believe that the Muslims were carrying arms in fear that they could be attacked and would have to defend themselves.

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[4] See Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (3/427) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/574-75).

[5] *Surat Al-Fath*: 11-12.

[6] *Tafsir* of Tabari (26/77) through a *Hasan* chain reaching up Mujāhid. It is Disconnected (*Mursal*). Qatādah's *Mursal* report supports it to the effect that the Bedouins who stayed back from the expedition of Hudaybiyah were the cause of revelation of this Verse – *At-Tabari* (26-78).

[7] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/574) through his chain but did not mention the two Verses.

[8] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/29/H. 4178, 4179). Wāqidi mentioned that they did not carry their arms which is contrary to the *Sahih* reports. See Wāqidi's *Maghāzi* (2/573).

Five different narrators who accompanied the Prophet ﷺ in this journey agree between themselves that they were fourteen hundred during the expedition.[9]

When they reached Dhul-Hulayfah,[10] the Muslims put on their pilgrimage garbs. The Prophet ﷺ tied ropes around the necks of the cattle he was carrying, thus marking them as sacrificial animals. They were seventy camels.[11] He sent forward Busr bin Sufyān, of the Khuzā'ah tribe to measure Quraysh reaction.[12]

When they reached Rawha',[13] he received the news that the enemy had gathered in Ghayqah. So he sent forward a group of Companions one of whom was Abu Qatādah, the *Ansāri*. Abu Qatādah had not put on the pilgrim's garb. He encountered a wild ass and killed it. Others refused to help him in the hunt. However, although in the state of consecration, they ate thereof, when they were offered its meat. When they met the Prophet ﷺ at Suqya[14] (about 180 km from Madinah), they asked him about the legality of their act. He allowed them to eat the rest of it so long as they had not taken any part in its hunting.[15]

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[9] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/15/H. 4151) and (16/17/H. 4154) being two reports of Bara' and Jabir. *Muslim* (3/1433/H. 1807) and (3/1484-1485/H. 1856, 1858) as two reports of Jābir and Ma'qil bin Yasār. See Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (3/98), being a report of Musaiyab bin Hazn, Sa'eed bin Musaiyab's father.

There are other narrations that give different numbers. See the discussion with Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/14).

In sum we can say that reconciliation is not impossible. In fact, the differences are not serious. It is also with Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. 364, 365, and Nawawi in his commentary on *Muslim* (2/13) who is close to what Ibn Hajar stated.

[10] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/14/H. 1694, 1695).

[11] *Musnad Ahmad* (4/333, 328) through a *Hasan* chain, Ibn Ishāq, also with a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/427).

[12] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/29/H. 4178, 4179), Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/323) through a reliable chain. Thus, the report rises to *Hasan* status. It also names the waters to which he was sent.

[13] Rawha' lies seventy-three kilometers from Madinah.

[14] Suqya lies 180 kilometers from Madinah.

[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/139-146/H. 1821)

travel along. But they delayed their departure. So he collected whomsoever he could of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* and a few others of the Arab[4] allies and started off. The Qur'ān said in reference to them,

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[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/139-146/H. 1821)

When they reached 'Usfān,[16] Busr bin Sufyān came up with news from the Quraysh. He said, "The Quraysh have put on leopard skins, have placed at stake their women and children, marched up to Dhi Tuwa and sworn to Allāh that you will not enter into the city. Khālid is also advancing with horsemen and is now in Kura' Al-Ghamim."[17] The Prophet ﷺ consulted[18] his Companions. He suggested that they first attack Quraysh allies in order to render the Quraysh fend for themselves completely without reliance upon others. Abu Bakr ؓ said, "O Messenger of Allāh. You have started off intending to visit the Holy House. You had never intended to attack or kill anyone. So, let us keep marching. If someone actually prevents us, then we will fight him." The Prophet ﷺ said, "March on, in the Name of Allāh."[19]

When the Prophet ﷺ came to know of horsemen advancing towards them, he shortened his prayers at 'Usfān.[20] And, in order to avoid encountering pagans, the Prophet ﷺ changed his route

[16] 'Usfān lies 80 kilometers from Makkah.

[17] As mentioned earlier, it was a valley in front of 'Usfān some 64 kilometers from Makkah, *Al-Bilādi*, p. 264. *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/29/H. 4178, 4179) uses the words Ghadiril-Ashtāt instead of 'Usfān. Ghadiril-Ashtāt is quite close to 'Usfan as in the report of Ahmad.

[18] Zuhri noted that Abu Hurayrah ؓ used to say, "I have not seen anyone who consulted his Companions more than the Prophet ﷺ." A report of Ahmad through 'Abdur-Razzāq, which Ibn Hibbān reported through his own chain as in *Al-Fath* (11/160).

[19] Abu Dāwud's Sunan and *Ma'ālimis-Sunan* (2/28/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 1236). The verifier said: "Nasa'i also documented *Hadith* nos. 1550 and 1551 in the chapter *Salātul-Khawf*. Mundhiri said in his *Mukhtasar*: "Bayhaqi treated the chain as authentic." He meant Abu Dāwud's chain coming from Mujāhid, he from Abu 'Ayyāsh Zuraqi. Hākim also recorded it (3/338) declaring it authentic with Dhahabi agreeing with him. Bayhaqi also declared it *Sahih* in his *Sunan Al-Kubra* (3/257) as also Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (1/548). The *Hadith* does not specify the expedition; however Ibn Hajar is inclined to believe in *Al-Fath* (15/311) that it was Hudaybiyah. This is supported by the fact that Khālid bin Walid mentioned it as near 'Usfān which was during the Hudaybiyah campaign. See Hukami's *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Hudaybiyah*, pp. 77-86, and 'Umari, *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 130.

[20] *Sahih Muslim* (4/2144/H. 2780).

crossing over the Murār group of hills. When he reached its foot he said, "Whoever climbs these hills will have his sins removed as they were removed from the Israelites." The first to climb were the horsemen of Khazraj, others following them.

When Khālid learnt of the change in direction of the Muslims, he returned to Makkah. Quraysh too came out to meet them camping at Baldah[21] managing to occupy the wells there before the Muslims could arrive.

When the Prophet ﷺ reached Hudaybiyah, his camel Qaswā' knelt down. The Companions remarked, "Qaswa' has halted and refuses to budge." The Prophet ﷺ said, "It is not in Qaswa's nature to do that. Rather, she has been held back by what held back (Abrahah's) elephant." Then he added, "By Him in Whose Hand is my life, they will not ask me anything today, with the intention of maintaining the consecration of the House, but I'll grant them." After that he prodded the camel and she rose up. He changed his direction a little away from Makkan and moved on to the other side of Hudaybiyah arriving at the smaller wells that had very little water. It wasn't long before his Companions were complaining of thirst. He pulled out an arrow from his quiver and told them to pitch it into the well. Water began to gush forth from it and they watered themselves to their satisfaction.[22] According to another report he sat down at the edge of the well and began to supplicate to Allāh (ﷻ), seeking water, and the water began to gush forth.[23] Obviously, it is possible to reconcile the two to say that he got his arrow pitched as well as supplicated at the edge, as Ibn Hajar[24] has said. Wāqidi's[25] report also confirms this, which has 'Urwah[26] reporting that the Prophet ﷺ took some water into his mouth, then

[21] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (4/112) as a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report coming from 'Urwah through a weak chain; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/582) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/59).

[22] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/162-163/H. 2731, 2732).

[23] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/75/H. 3577).

[24] *Al-Fath* (11/164/H. 2731, 2732).

[25] *Maghāzi* (2/588).

[26] A narration of Abul-Aswad as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (11/164).

spat into a pitcher and threw it into the well. Then he told them to pitch his arrow into it and began to supplicate until water sprung forth.

As for the Quraysh, he was sorry about them: what with their position among the Arabs and their special qualities, they would have done well to embrace Islam. But their tenacious opposition and wars against him weakened them to no profit. He remarked, "How unfortunate of the Quraysh. Wars destroyed them. Had they left me alone to work among the people, and, had the people embraced Islam, they would have stood to advantage. On the other hand, if the people rejected me, they could have then fought me from a position of strength. In any case, what do the Quraysh imagine? By Allāh, I shall keep struggling in the cause of what Allāh has sent me with until Allāh gives it victory, or I die in its cause."[27]

The Prophet ﷺ also tried to send the message across to the Quraysh that he wasn't wishing to fight them. He only wished to visit the House of Allāh which was the right of every Muslim as it was the right of others. When the message reached the Quraysh, they sent a team to assess the situation, open up talks, measure the strength of the Muslims, and judge their resolve if they were forced into the battlefield. On the other hand, they wished to peacefully prevent the Muslims' entry into the city.

Budayl bin Warqa' came along leading a team of Khuza'ah men. Khuzā'ah were from Tihāmah, and friends[28] and well-wishers of the Prophet ﷺ. The delegation made it clear to the Prophet ﷺ that the Quraysh were bent upon preventing his entry into Makkah. The Prophet ﷺ stated his objective clearly and spoke of the harm Qurash belligerency had brought upon them. He suggested that they enter into a time-bound treaty of peace until the fog of uncertainty got cleared. However, he also made it plain to them that if they wished to fight, he too was ready to his last breath. The delegation conveyed his message[29] and said, "O Quraysh, you are hasty about

[27] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/323) through a *Hasan* chain, and Ibn Ishāq also through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/428).

[28] That is, close friends who shared his secrets.

[29] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath*/H. 2731, 2732).

Muhammad. He has not come here to fight. He only wishes to visit the House." But the Quraysh weren't prepared to hear those words. They chided them and said things they did not wish to hear. They said, "Even if he has come for of a peaceful visit, we shall not allow it to happen and let the Arabs laugh at us."[30]

On the other hand, the Prophet ﷺ wished to emphasize his peaceful purposes and make his intention clear to the rest of the Arabs. So, he sent to Quraysh Khirāsh bin Umaiyah of the Khuza'ah on one of his own camels called Tha'lab. But the Qurasyh slaughtered his camel and, but for the tribesmen surrounding Makkah, who were related to him,[31] they would have killed Khirāsh too.[32]

Thereafter, the Prophet ﷺ decided to send 'Umar bin Khattāb across to Makkah to meet the Quraysh chieftains and explain his position. 'Umar ؓ however, felt differently. He said, "O Messenger of Allāh. I don't feel myself in peace among the Quraysh. Moreover, there is none of the Banu 'Adi bin Ka'b in the city to defend me. Again, the Quraysh are well aware of my tough attitude with them. I suggest a man who has a good standing among them: 'Uthmān bin 'Affān." So, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Uthmān ؓ across to them. 'Uthmān sought and received the protection of Abān bin Sa'eed bin 'Ās of the Banu Umaiyah branch, entered into Makkah and conveyed the message. They allowed him to circumambulate the House but he refused saying, "I shall not do that until the Messenger of Allāh has done it." So the Quraysh retained him with them and rumor spread that he had been murdered.[33] When the Prophet ﷺ received the news, he got his men assembled under a

[30] *Musnad Ahmad*: (4/324) through a *Hasan* chain, Ibn Ishāq, also through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/432).

[31] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/435-436); Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/324); *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/101-104) through a *Hasan* chain, and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/96-97) *Mu'allaq* and in brief.

[32] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/97) in a *Mu'allaq* report. Its words are: "He was prevented by those of his people who were there."

[33] Ibn Ishaq through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/426-437) and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/324).

Samurah tree. To the last man they all pledged to fight until death[34]- except for Jadd bin Qays. He was a hypocrite.[35] According to one report the pledge was that they will persevere, come what may.[36] Another report has it that it was on the promise that they will not flee.[37] To be sure, there is no contradiction between the three articles. Pledging to fight to death includes perseverance and not fleeing away.[38]

The first to rush in and pledge his hand was Abu Sinān 'Abdullah bin Wahb Asadi.[39] He was followed by the multitudes. The Prophet ﷺ appreciated their readiness saying, "You are the best of people on the face of the earth."[40] He also added, "Allāh willing, no one who pledged his hand under this tree will enter the Fire."[41]

Then he pointed to his right hand and said, "This is 'Uthmān's hand"[42] and struck it on the left hand, saying, "This is 'Uthmān's pledge." Thus, 'Uthmān got the credit of the pledge. 'Uthmān of course, later returned safely.

The pledge came to be known as the Ridwan Pledge (from the root 'to be pleased') because Allāh announced that He was pleased with those that had pledged their hands there. He said,

﴿لَّقَدْ رَضِىَ ٱللَّهُ عَنِ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ ٱلشَّجَرَةِ﴾

[34] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/24/H. 4169).

[35] *Muslim* (3/1483/H. 1856). However, a second look is required in connection with the hypocrisy of Jadd bin Qays as shown by 'Addāb Mahmud Hamash in his book *Tha'labah bin Hātib*, pp. 95-102, which happens to be a good quality study.

[36] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/79/H. 4169).

[37] *Muslim* (3/1483/H. 1856).

[38] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (12/79).

[39] Reported by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isabāh* (4/95-96) as a *Hadith* of Sha'bi remarking: "Ibn Mandah also recorded it through Zirr bin Hubaysh." Ibn Hajar also mentioned in *Al-Isābah* (4/264) that the routes of Zirr bin Hubaysh as well as Sha'bi, are both authentic. This *Hadith* was also reported by *Ibn Hishām* with an attribution to Sha'bi—*As-Sirat* (3/438-439).

[40] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/17/H. 4154).

[41] *Muslim* (4/1942/H. 2496).

[42] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/202/H. 3699).

Indeed, Allāh was pleased with the believers when they gave the Bai'ah (pledge) to you (O Muhammad ﷺ) under the tree."[43,44]

Following Budayl's delegation the Quraysh sent several others to discuss the issue. One of the men they chose was 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd of Thaqif. However, he had seen how they had behaved towards his predecessor. So, he made plain to them his own position. They admitted that they couldn't think of him siding with Muhammad. When he returned, he told them that the Prophet's proposal was reasonable and hence acceptable. They agreed with him.

When he went up to the Prophet ﷺ, he repeated what he had said to Budayl. 'Urwah replied, "O Muhammad, you have uprooted your own people. Have you heard of anyone of the Arabs destroying his own people? And, even if there was another example, by God I don't see trustworthy faces around you. I see a hodgepodge of men of whom it is natural that they should abandon you and flee." Abu Bakr ؓ couldn't hold his peace. He said, "Suck Lāt's clitoris. Shall we abandon him and flee?" 'Urwah was also passing his hand through the Prophet's beard. Mughirah bin Shu'bah ؓ couldn't tolerate for long. He struck his hand with the butt of his sword saying, "Off with your hand from the Prophet's beard..." Thus 'Urwah was able to experience the Companions' love for the Prophet ﷺ, their veneration and readiness to lay their lives for him. So, when he returned to the Quraysh he said, "My people. By God, I have been sent to kings, to the Roman and Persian emperors, but I haven't seen a king who was venerated the way Muhammad is venerated by his companions."

After 'Urwah, the Quraysh sent across Hulays bin 'Alqamah the Kināni, who was the leader of the tribes on the outskirts of Makkah.

[43] *Surat Al-Fath*: 18.

[44] Tabari reported this in his *Tafsir* (26/86) with a weak chain because of the weakness in Musa bin 'Ubaydah. However it is supported by the narrative of Jābir ؓ which is in *Tirmidhi*'s *Sunan Al-Kubra*/The Book of *Siyar*/H. 1591). It mentions the Verse also. Yahya bin Abu Kathir's *Tadlis* does no harm for the report is originally in *Muslim* coming through Jābir and others (3/1483/H. 1856).

When the Prophet ﷺ saw him advancing he said, "He belongs to a people who respect sacrificial animals. So, let your sacrificial animals be in sight." When Hulays saw the sacrificial animals, with the sacrifice marks on their necks, passing before him, he returned to the Quraysh without even meeting the Prophet ﷺ. So impressed was he by the display of the sacrificial animals, he told the Quraysh, "I have seen sacrificial animals, with markings hanging by their necks. I don't see how you can prevent their entry." They were upset, they said, "Sit down man, you are after all a Bedouin. You understand nothing." He was incensed to hear those words and said, "O Quraysh. By God, it is not on this that I allied myself with you. Are we going to prevent someone's entry who has come with holy purposes? By Him in Whose Hand is the life of Hulays, either you will let Muhammad do what he has come for, or I shall withdraw my men supportive of you, to the last man." They said, "Stay quiet man until we have extracted from Muhammad what will please us."

Next they sent Mikraz bin Hafs. When the Prophet ﷺ saw him, he remarked, "This is Mikraz, a corrupt man." While he was speaking to the Prophet ﷺ, Suhayl bin 'Amr followed up from the Quraysh as another messenger from the Quraysh. The Prophet ﷺ drew a good omen and said, "Here comes ease."[45] (The word *Suhayl* has its root in *Sahl* meaning, ease). Then he added, "The people who sent him meant peace." The Quraysh had authorized Suhayl to work out an armistice. However, they had said, "One of the clauses should be that he returns this year (without performing his pilgrimage), for, by God, we shall not hear from the Arabs that he entered despite our resistance." Suhayl sat long to thrash out the terms of the treaty. He went back and forth several times, and finally, the treaty terms came to be finalized.[46]

When the Prophet ﷺ began to dictate the peace proposal to 'Ali bin Abu Tālib starting with[47] "In the Name of Allāh, the Rahmān,

[45] See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/167-171/H. 2731, 2732), and Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/324) through a *Hasan* chain being a narration of Ibn Ishāq.

[46] Being a *Hadith* of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/439).

[47] The name of the writer of the treaty was mentioned by *Al-Bukhārī*: *Al-Fath*

the Rahim," Suhayl objected. He said it should simply say, "In the name of Allāh..." for that is how it was in pre-Islamic days. The Muslims wouldn't agree to that but the Prophet ﷺ gave his approval for the change. Then, as 'Ali named the Prophet ﷺ as the Messenger of Allāh as one of the two parties, Suhayl once again protested. He would only agree to, "Muhammad bin 'Abdullah." The Prophet ﷺ agreed to that also.

When the clause about immediate entry into Makkah for pilgrimage came to be discussed, Suhayl once again objected. He said, "Let not the Arabs say that we were coerced into agreeing over this. However, you might come back the next year. In that event we shall leave the city to allow you to come in. But that will be only for three days and you will carry only simple arms that a rider carries. The swords shall remain in the sheaths."[48] The Prophet ﷺ agreed to this condition also. Then Suhayl added, "None of our men, even if he be a follower of your religion, will join up with you, but you will return him to us." The Muslims reacted, "Glory to Allāh. How can a Muslim be returned to pagans?" And, as they were discussing the issue, Abu Jandal bin Suhayl bin 'Amr came up bound in chains. He had managed to escape from Makkah and threw himself at the mercy of the Muslims. Suhayl said, "This is the first occasion of the application of the treaty. Return the man to us." The Prophet ﷺ said, "If that's the case, we cannot continue." Suhayl said, "By God, we shall not sign any treaty with you."

The Prophet ﷺ pleaded that Abu Jandal be an exception. But Suhayl refused despite the fact that Mikraz was agreeable. The Prophet ﷺ had to finally give in.[49]

(11/129/H. 2698, 2699); *Muslim* (3/1410/H. 1783); 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/343) through a reliable chain as a report of Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ, and another being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri; and a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/440).

[48] This sentence was part of the narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/441). According to another narration by *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/130/H. 2699), "He will not enter Makkah but the swords in the sheaths."

[49] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/173-176/H. 2731, 27320).

Thus the agreement was signed with the following clauses: "There will be no war for ten years. During this period, people will be free to move about. They will be in security from each other. Good intentions will prevail between them[50] but without allowing for theft or treachery; and, that whichever of the other Arab tribes wished to enter into a treaty with Muhammad was free to do so.

At that the Khuzā'ah said they would like to remain allied with the Prophet ﷺ, while Banu Bakr said they'd remain with the Quraysh.[51]

To be sure, the Companions were terribly displeased with the terms of the treaty. 'Ali ﷺ refused to strike off the words, "Messenger of Allāh" from the document. The Prophet ﷺ asked him to show the words and then erased them with his own hands and asked 'Ali to write down in their place, "bin 'Abdullah."[52] The Companions were very displeased with the condition that Muslims escaping from Makkah should be returned to them. They protested,

[50] That is, with a clear heart free from evil designs, filled with good intentions – Ibn Athir: *An-Nihāyah* (3/327).

[51] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/440-441), and Ahmad's *Musnad* (4/325) also through Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

[52] *Muslim* (3/1410-1411/H. 1783), and, according to a narration in *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fat-h* (11/130/H. 2699): "...So the Prophet ﷺ took the writing and wrote: 'This is from what Muhammad bin 'Abdullah agreed to: No one shall enter Makkah except with the arms in the sheaths...'" According to a second narration from him (11/129/H. 2698): "The Prophet ﷺ erased it and agreed to the statement that he and his Companions will enter Makkah for three days only." According to a third version (16/88/H. 4251): "The Prophet took the writing, and he did not do well as writing, but wrote: 'This is what Muhammad bin 'Abdullah agreed to: No arms shall enter into Makkah but in their sheaths." These reports which are in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim* led one of the scholars to conclude he is Abu Walid Bāji that the Prophet ﷺ wrote with his hand although until then he couldn't do it well. The scholars of Andalus (Spain) criticized him in his times. The truth is, the textual "he wrote" has a few words deleted which are "he erased it and asked 'Ali to write." This is how Ibn Thin interpreted the word "he wrote" to "he got written." This kind of usage is not uncommon, e.g, "He wrote to the Caesar," or "He wrote to Kisra," and so on. The summary of what Ibn Hajar wrote in *Al-Fath* (16/89/H.

"O Messenger of Allāh, do we have to agree to this?" He replied, "Yes. If anyone of us joins them, then, good riddance. But if one of them comes to us, (and we have to return him), then Allāh will find a way for him."[53]

'Umar bin Khattāb ﷺ himself reports of his angry words to the Prophet ﷺ at the time the treaty was being finalized. He says, "I went up to the Prophet and said, 'Aren't you Allāh's Messenger in truth?' He said, 'Yes, I am.' I asked, 'Are we not on the truth and the pagans on falsehood?' He replied, 'That's true.' I asked, 'Why should we give in to them in matters of our faith?' He replied, 'I am Allāh's Messenger. And I am not going to disobey Him. He is my Helper.' I said, 'Didn't you tell us that we shall perform the pilgrimage?' He replied, 'So I did. But, did I say it will be this year?' I said, 'No.' He said, 'You will surely come back one day and circumambulate the House.'"

But 'Umar was not satisfied. He went up to Abu Bakr ﷺ and reported the conversation with the Prophet ﷺ. He pacified him by saying, "He is Allāh's Messenger. He will not disobey his Lord. He is his Helper. So, control yourself. By Allāh, he is on the right."[54]

'Umar said later, "I went on fasting, expending in charity, and freeing slaves in expiation of my objections to the Prophet that day, until I felt relieved."[55] However, at that time 'Umar remained feeling unhappy until the *Surat Al-Fath* was revealed giving glad tidings of ultimate victory.[56]

Meanwhile, Abu Jandal pleaded for help. He asked, "O Muslims. Are you going to hand me over back to the pagans to torture me for my religion?" The Prophet ﷺ answered, "O Abu

4251) is that the word "He wrote" should be understood in the sense of "He ordered 'Ali to write."

[53] *Muslim* (3/1411/H. 1784).

[54] See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/176-178/H. 2731, 2732) and (12/271/H. 3182); and Muslim (3/142/H. 1785); *Ahmad* (4/325); and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/439-440).

[55] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/440).

[56] *Muslim* (3/1412/H. 1785).

Jandal. Be patient and be sure of rewards. Allāh will surely find a way out for you and for others of your kind.'' At that point 'Umar went up close to Abu Jandal, encouraging him to grab his ('Umar's) sword and kill his father (who had chained him). But Abu Jandal preferred not to do that, so he was returned to the pagans.[57] The Prophet ﷺ did that following a wise plan which became apparent to the people only on the day when the Makkan pagans came up to the Prophet ﷺ seeking the cancellation of the clause which had forced the Muslims to send Abu Jandal back to them. And, in Suhayl's Islam and, in his tough attitude at that time, was also something good hidden for the Muslims for, when the Prophet ﷺ died and the Makkans were about to abandon Islam, it was he who addressed them in a highly eloquent manner and retained them in Islam.[58]

And, Sahl bin Hunayf said on the day of the Siffin battle, ''You might re-look into your opinion (about the peace prospects). I can recall the day when I saw Abu Jandal in chains. If I could, I would have refused to obey the Prophet that day.''[59]

When the Prophet ﷺ told the Companions to slaughter their sacrificial animals and shave their heads, not one of them moved. When he told them three times but they wouldn't move, he entered into Umm Salamah's tent and complained to her of their behavior. She suggested that he himself go ahead and do what he was asking his Companions to do. When he did that, they also rose up and did as he did. Nevertheless, they were so unhappy that when some of them were shaving others, they injured each other in the head.[60]

The Prophet ﷺ supplicated three times for those who shaved their heads and once for those who cut their hair short.[61]

The total number of camels[62] that they slaughtered was seventy: one for every seven persons.[63]

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[57] *Musnad* of Ahmad (4/325) through a *Hasan* chain, as also by the same chain Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (3/442).
[58] See this in his biography in *Al-Isābah* and other books.
[59] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/271/H. 3181) and (16/33/H. 4189).
[60] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/178-180/H. 2731, 2732).
[61] *Musnad Ahmad* (2/34, 151) through a *Hasan* chain.
[62] *Musnad Ahmad* (4/324) through a *Hasan* chain.
[63] *Muslim* (2/955/H. 1318).

The camel that the Prophet ﷺ slaughtered had once belonged to Abu Jahl. He had received it as his share of the war booty after the battle of Badr. He slaughtered it there to anger the pagans.[64] In any case, some of the camels were slaughtered in the area known as Hill[65] (an area within the *Miqāt*), while others were sent to inner sanctuary known as Haram from the Jundub side.[66]

Obviously, 'Umar's behavior on that day, as also of other believers, was out of good intentions.[67]

The pagans on the other hand did not give up provoking the Muslims before, during, or after the signing of the armistice. The Prophet ﷺ and his Companions applied great restraint upon themselves in the face of the provocation. So that, when eighty of a pagan party tried to attack them in surprise, the Muslims were able to thwart their attempt and, rather, captured them all. However, the Messenger ﷺ pardoned every one of them.[68] Another attack was organized by a group of thirty pagans, right at the time of the signing of the treaty. They too were captured but set free by the Prophet ﷺ.[69]

Another attempt was made after the conclusion of the treaty. Seventy of the pagans tried to provoke the Muslims. But the attempt was thwarted and they were captured. Salamah bin Akwa' also captured four pagans who misbehaved with the Prophet ﷺ. But he forgave them. It was in reference to these incidents that the Qur'ānic Verse came down saying,

﴿وَهُوَ ٱلَّذِى كَفَّ أَيْدِيَهُمْ عَنكُمْ وَأَيْدِيَكُمْ عَنْهُم بِبَطْنِ مَكَّةَ مِنۢ بَعْدِ أَنْ أَظْفَرَكُمْ عَلَيْهِمْ﴾

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[64] *Sunan Abu Dāwud* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan*, p. 1749; *Sahih Ibn Khuzaymah* (4/286-287); *Al-Mustadrak* (1/467) which Hākim declared reliable, and *Ahmad* (1/234) through a *Hasan* chain.
[65] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/131/H. 2701).
[66] *Tahāwī: Sharh Ma'ānil-Athār* (2/242) through a reliable chain.
[67] *Musnad Ahmad* (4/325) through a *Hasan* chain of transmitters.
[68] *Muslim* (3/1442/H. 1808), and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/122, 124, 125, 290).
[69] *Musnad Ahmad* (4/86) through narrators who are of the *Sahih* compilations as said Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/145). Hākim said (2/460): ''Trustworthy, on the conditions of the *Shaykhayn*.''

"It is He Who restrained their hands from reaching you and your hands reaching them in the heart of Makkah, after He had given you an upper hand over them."[70,71]

Thereafter, the Muslims returned. They were away for a month and a half.[72] Of these they had spent ten at Hudaybiyah, but according to another report, twenty days.[73]

During the return journey, miracles once again appeared at the hands of the Prophet ﷺ in matters of food and drink, as it had happened at the time of the battle of the Ditch in the house of Jābir and as water had sprouted in the wells of Hudaybiyah. It is reported by Salamah bin Akwa' that once when they suffered great hunger, the Prophet ﷺ ordered that the entire provision of the army be collected together. It amounted to a very small quantity. However, everyone ate out of it and even saved some in their bags. Then he was brought a small pitcher that had a little water in it. He emptied it into a larger pitcher and the whole army made ablution from it.[74]

The chapter entitled *Al-Fath* (The Victory) came down during the return journey. It said,

﴿إِنَّا فَتَحْنَا لَكَ فَتْحًا مُّبِينًا﴾

" Indeed we have granted you a clear victory..."[75]

The Prophet ﷺ told his Companions, "Today a *Surat* is revealed to me that is dearer to me than anything on which the sun rises."[76] 'Umar ﷺ asked in surprise, "Is this a victory?" When the Prophet ﷺ replied in the affirmative, he felt comforted and returned happy.[77] According to another report he said, "Yes. By Him in Whose Hand

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[70] *Surat Al-Fath*: 24.

[71] *Muslim* (3/1434/H. 1807).

[72] Ibn Sayyidin-Nās: *'Uyunul-Athar* (2/123), originally a narration of Ibn 'Ā'idh.

[73] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/616) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/98) a *Mu'allaq* report.

[74] *Muslim* (3/1354/H. 1729), and *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/16/H. 4152).

[75] *Surat Al-Fath*: 1.

[76] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/28/H. 4177).

[77] *Muslim* (3/1412/H. 1785).

is my life, this is a victory."[78] The Muslims were also generally pleased to hear that, and the cloud of grief slipped by. They soon realized their inability to understand the ends achieved by the means that were employed, and that it was better for them to submit to Allāh (ﷻ) and His Messenger.

However, later when Umm Kulthum, the daughter of 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt came to Madinah as a *Muhājir*, the Prophet ﷺ did not send her back to Makkah when they demanded her return. That was following Allāh's instruction,

﴿إِذَا جَآءَكُمُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنَٰتُ مُهَٰجِرَٰتٍ فَٱمْتَحِنُوهُنَّ ٱللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِإِيمَٰنِهِنَّ . . . وَلَا هُمْ يَحِلُّونَ لَهُنَّ﴾

"When believing women come to you as Muhājir, examine them, (although) Allāh knows their faith" ... until .. *"for they (the pagans) are not lawful for them."*[79,80]

Accordingly, the Prophet ﷺ used to examine them for their faith. If there was evidence that they had emigrated because of their faith, he allowed them to remain, paying back their dowries to their former pagan husbands, although he had never paid such dowries before the Hudaybiyah treaty.[81]

The Verse quoted above declared that Muslim migrating women were excluded from the treaty and could not be returned to the pagans since they were unlawful unto the pagans. The actual words were,

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[78] Hākim in his *Mustadrak* (2/459) where he treated this report as important and trustworthy which the *Shaykhayn* did not document. Dhahabi agreed with him; *Sunan Abu Dāwud* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan* (3/174-175/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2736), and *Musnad Ahmad* (3/420) where Anas ﷺ interpreted the victory as that of Hudaybiyah. See also *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/26/H. 4172) and (18/211/H. 4834).

[79] *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 10.

[80] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/140/H. 2711, 2712).

[81] *Sunan Al-Kubra* of Bayhaqi (9/229) being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri, 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr; Ibn Ishāq, *Mursal* report of 'Urwah—*Ibn Hishām* (3/453). In the chains of Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi falls Muslim bin 'Abdullah who is unknown; and Ibn Ishāq did not assert having heard it himself. As

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[73] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/616) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/98) a *Mu'allaq* report.
[74] *Muslim* (3/1354/H. 1729), and *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/16/H. 4152).
[75] *Surat Al-Fath*: 1.
[76] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/28/H. 4177).
[77] *Muslim* (3/1412/H. 1785).

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However, later when Umm Kulthum, the daughter of 'Uqbah bin Abu Mu'ayt came to Madinah as a *Muhājir*, the Prophet ﷺ did not send her back to Makkah when they demanded her return. That was following Allāh's instruction,

﴿إِذَا جَآءَكُمُ ٱلْمُؤْمِنَٰتُ مُهَٰجِرَٰتٍ فَٱمْتَحِنُوهُنَّ ٱللَّهُ أَعْلَمُ بِإِيمَٰنِهِنَّ . . .وَلَا هُمْ يَحِلُّونَ لَهُنَّ﴾

"When believing women come to you as Muhājir, examine them, (although) Allāh knows their faith" ... until .. *"for they (the pagans) are not lawful for them."*[79, 80]

Accordingly, the Prophet ﷺ used to examine them for their faith. If there was evidence that they had emigrated because of their faith, he allowed them to remain, paying back their dowries to their former pagan husbands, although he had never paid such dowries before the Hudaybiyah treaty.[81]

The Verse quoted above declared that Muslim migrating women were excluded from the treaty and could not be returned to the pagans since they were unlawful unto the pagans. The actual words were,

[78] Hākim in his *Mustadrak* (2/459) where he treated this report as important and trustworthy which the *Shaykhayn* did not document. Dhahabi agreed with him; *Sunan Abu Dāwud* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan* (3/174-175/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2736), and *Musnad Ahmad* (3/420) where Anas ؓ interpreted the victory as that of Hudaybiyah. See also *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/26/H. 4172) and (18/211/H. 4834).
[79] *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 10.
[80] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/140/H. 2711, 2712).
[81] *Sunan Al-Kubra* of Bayhaqi (9/229) being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri, 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr; Ibn Ishāq, *Mursal* report of 'Urwah—*Ibn Hishām* (3/453). In the chains of Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi falls Muslim bin 'Abdullah who is unknown; and Ibn Ishāq did not assert having heard it himself. As

﴿وَلَا تُمْسِكُوا۟ بِعِصَمِ ٱلْكَوَافِرِ﴾

"Do not hold the disbelieving women as wives."[82, 83]

Several of the slaves of the Quraysh had sought refuge with the Muslims before the armistice could be signed. The pagans demanded them back saying, "They haven't come to you attracted by your religion, rather, they seek freedom." A few Muslims remarked, "They spoke the truth, O Messenger of Allāh. So, let them go back." The Prophet ﷺ said angrily, "They have been freed by Allāh."

The following report is in *Abu Dâwud* (The Book of *Jihād*, no. 2700), as well as in Bayhaqi in his *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/229), Tirmidhi's *Sunan*, (The Book of *Manāqib*, no. 3715). It has also been reported through 'Ali bin Abu Tālib ؓ although in a truncated form. The report says, "Several men of the pagans came up on the day of Hudaybiyah. One of them was Suhayl bin 'Amr. They said, 'Some of our sons, brothers and slaves have come to you. They understand nothing of religion. They have only sought to escape from the care of our properties seeking freedom. So, return them to us.' The Prophet ﷺ replied, 'If they do not have any understanding of this religion, we shall teach them...'" Tirmidhi said about this report, "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* report that has not come to us by any other route, except that of Ruba'i, through 'Ali, while Ahmad also reported it (1/155). Hakami — who attempted research of all narratives concerning the Hudaybiyyah affair (p. 183) — said, "Yes, the *Hadith* is trustworthy, but only collectively."

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for Wāqidi, he was abandoned. Thus the chain remains weak, not worthy of scholarly consideration, not meeting with the criteria of the acceptable type of *Mursal* reports whose conditions are as follows: (a) All the *Mursal* versions should be from the important Followers (*Tabe'iyyun*), (b) Every one of them should have taken the report from a Shaykh different from the Shaykh of the others, and, (c) that the chain of transmission of everyone of the two should be trustworthy until the person who truncated it.

[82] *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 10.

[83] See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/140/H. 2711, 2712); *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/228) and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (4/351).

Lessons and Rules

1. Whenever something prevents the Muslims from performing their *'Umrah*, after they have donned the pilgrimage garb, it is allowed for them to remove their garb at the place they are stopped. A repeat attempt is not a must.[84]

2. The Prophet ﷺ allowed Ka'b bin 'Ujrah to shave his head, although he was in a state of consecration, because of an ailment in the scalp. He asked him to either slaughter a goat in expiation or fast three days or feed six poor people. The Verse that came in this connection was,

﴿فَمَن كَانَ مِنكُم مَّرِيضًا أَوْ بِهِۦٓ أَذًى مِّن رَّأْسِهِۦ فَفِدْيَةٌ مِّن صِيَامٍ أَوْ صَدَقَةٍ أَوْ نُسُكٍ﴾

"Then whosoever of you is sick or has an ailment in his scalp may offer as expiation fasts, charity or sacrifice."[85, 86]

3. When it rained, the Prophet ﷺ ordered his men to pray within their tents.[87]

4. The actual application of the principle of consultation between the Muslims, was realized when the Prophet ﷺ consulted them whether to retaliate against those who had taken part in support of the pagans or not. He also consulted Umm Salamah ؓ when his Companions delayed in removing their pilgrim garbs. In both cases he followed the advice given.

5. The period fixed for the treaty of Hudaybiyah tells us that a peace treaty can be at most for a period of ten years. The main guiding principle in dealings with the disbelievers is war and not peace.

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[84] For further details see books of *Fiqh*.

[85] *Surat Al-Baqarah*: 196.

[86] See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/132/H. 1816-1818), *Muslim* (2/859-862/H. 1201).

[87] Ibn Mājah: *Sunan* (The Book of *Salāt*, p. 936) through a reliable chain.

6. It is allowable to return Muslims to the disbelievers.

7. It is allowed to draw a good omen as the Prophet ﷺ did when he said, "Your affair has become easy" when Suhayl bin 'Amr showed up to discuss the peace treaty.

8. Whoever said, "We received rains because of such and such a star" disbelieved in Islam. One may say, instead, "We have been sent rains by the leave of Allāh and His mercy." This is what the Prophet ﷺ said when he did his morning prayer after the rains of the previous night.[88]

9. It is allowed to seek blessings from the relics of the Prophet ﷺ, such as from his ablution water.[89] That was special with him and does not apply to other righteous Muslims.[90]

10. The *Sunnah* for one who slept over his prayer is that he should pray as soon as he wakes up, even if its time has elapsed. This is because when the Muslims were in the return journey, and one morning no one woke up until the sun shined on their faces, while the night watchman Bilāl ﷺ also slept off, they all prayed after the time had elapsed.[91]

11. The Hudaybiyah armistice implied recognition by the Quraysh of Muslims as their equals.

12. The loss of Quraysh prestige, evidenced by the fact that the Khuzā'ah tribe sided with the Prophet ﷺ without fear of the Quraysh. That wasn't possible in the past.

13. The Hudaybiyah peace treaty gave the Muslims the chance and freedom to deal with the Khayber Jews and then others of them in Tayma' and Fadak.

[88] See *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (4/263/H. 846).

[89] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (11/170/H. 2731, 2732).

[90] Shātibi: *Al-I'tisām* (2/8).

[91] *Sunan Abu Dāwud* along with *Ma'ālimus-Sunan*: (1/309-310/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 447). Nasa'i: *Sunan Al-Kubra*/119 which Haythami declared trustworthy as in *Al-Majma'* (1/319).

14. The treaty gave the Muslims the opportunity to spread the message of Islam. Zuhri has said, "No victory in Islam has been greater than the Hudaybiyan treaty. Earlier to that, fighting started off at any place men encountered each other. But, with the peace treaty, arms were laid down, people met each other in complete peace, discuss and debate. So that, no intelligent man ever opened the subject but ultimately became a Muslim. During the following two years the same number of people entered into Islam as had done from the beginning of the affair." Ibn Hishām added, "Zuhri's statement is evidenced by the fact that when the Prophet ﷺ started off for Hudaybiyah, he had, according to Jābir ﷺ, 1400 men in his company. But by the eighth year, when he entered Makkah victorious, he had 10,000 men with him."[92]

15. One of the consequences of the treaty terms was that when Abu Basir fled from the pagans and came to the Prophet ﷺ, he rejected him on pagan demand. As they were taking him back, he overcame them, killing one, while the other fled. Abu Basir returned to Madinah. He said to the Prophet ﷺ, "You observed the treaty clause, and returned me to them, but Allāh freed me." But the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Woe unto Abu Mis'ar's mother, only if he had someone with him." Abu Basir understood the Prophet's signal and so when he felt that he would be returned, he went away and sought refuge in the mountains near the sea shore. Other Muslims in Makkah also understood what the Prophet ﷺ had meant. They too began to free themselves and join up with Abu Basir. One of them was Abu Jandal. Soon they became a sizable party and began to harass the passing Quraysh caravans. Finally, the Quraysh sent word to the Prophet ﷺ requesting him to accept those who fled from them.[93] So he sent word to them while they were in the 'Eis area. They all came down to live in Madinah. By then, their number had grown to sixty or seventy.[94]

[92] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain – *Ibn Hishām* (3/447-448).

[93] *Al-Bukhari/Al-Fath* (11/180-183/H. 2731, 2732).

[94] Ibn Ishāq with a *Hasan* chain, if we consider it as part of his reports

16. In the story of Abu Basir, Abu Jandal and others in 'Eis, is an example for the Muslims that they have to stay firm on their faith, and work to find ways to defend themselves against oppressors.

narrating the events of Hudaybiyah—*Ibn Hishām* (3/449), who mentioned that they were close to seventy. This *Hadith* was also reported by Bayhaqi in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/227) through a chain in which falls Ibn Bukayr who was sound but committed errors. However the report is *Hasan* because of several supportive reports. It comes through Ibn Ishāq as we mentioned which Bayhaqi brought it in his *Dalā'il* (4/174-175) it being a *Mursal* report of Zuhri. It says that they went forward to 'Eis in numbers three hundred; and that the Prophet's letter arrived when Abu Basir was near his death. He died with the letter in his hand. Abu Jandal buried him and the rest returned. It has been narrated as a *Mursal* version of 'Urwah (4/175-176).

Chapter **14**

Expeditions between Hudaybiyah and Khayber

Dhu Qarad Expedition[1]

'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fazāri and a group of men from Ghatafān raided on the milk camels of the Prophet ﷺ that were being grazed in Dhu Qarad. When Salamah bin Akwa' came to know, he shouted for help and then gave them a chase. He began to shoot arrows at them. By the time the Prophet ﷺ and his men could catch up, they found that he had already succeeded in releasing the cattle. So they returned. The Prophet ﷺ allowed Salamah to ride his own camel behind him, on the way back to Madinah.[2]

This incident took place three days before Khayber expedition.[3]

Abān bin Sa'eed's Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ sent him towards Najd. In his return journey he

[1] A watering place that was around two days distance away from Madinah. See Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (2/83-84).

[2] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/36-40/H. 4194) and *Muslim* (3/1432-1441/H. 1806).

[3] This is what Bukhāri asserts with in the chapter-caption dealing with the Qarad campaign as in *Al-Fath*. This is because of the authentic reports in his possession. Ibn Kathir preferred in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/173) as did Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/37) in the manner of Bukhāri. Both have detailed discussions over the issue of this campaign, and its date.

joined the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions at Khayber, after it had fallen.[4]

The sources do not tell us the exact destination in Najd, nor do they say anything about what took place there, or the number of men that went along with Abān bin Sa'eed.

[4] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/74-75/H. 4238).

Chapter 15

The Khayber Expedition

The Jews of Khayber did nothing to expose their enmity of Islam until the leaders from the exiled Banu Nadir tribe had taken refuge with them. As we have mentioned earlier, men like Sallām bin Abu Huqayq, Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq and Huyaiy bin Akhtab had chosen to live at Khayber.[1]

These leaders were filled with hatred for the Muslims and used every opportunity to harm them. They found that they could use the Quraysh and other tribes as horses to ride on into Madinah. They invoked them to violence and managed to bring them against the Muslims resulting in what is known as the Ditch encounter.[2] They managed to break away Banu Qurayzah who broke the treaty and sided with the enemies.[3] Therefore, when the tribes had scattered away from the Madinan borders, the Prophet ﷺ organized an expedition under the leadership of 'Abdullah bin 'Atik to finish off their leaders. One of them to be so taken care of, was Sallām bin Abu Huqayq.

At this point, the Hudyabiyah armistice offered an opportunity to the Muslims to solve this problem once and for all, and allow peace to prevail. Allāh (ﷻ) had already promised them abundant spoils if they attacked Khayber. This was hinted at in the *Surat Al-Fath*, which was revealed on the way back from Hudaybiyah. It said,

[1] Ibn Ishāq, a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/269).
[2] Ibn Ishāq, through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/298-299).
[3] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Mu'allaq* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/307-309).

﴿لَقَدْ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ إِذْ يُبَايِعُونَكَ تَحْتَ الشَّجَرَةِ فَعَلِمَ مَا فِي
قُلُوبِهِمْ فَأَنزَلَ السَّكِينَةَ عَلَيْهِمْ وَأَثَابَهُمْ فَتْحًا قَرِيبًا ﴿١٨﴾ وَمَغَانِمَ كَثِيرَةً يَأْخُذُونَهَا
وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَزِيزًا حَكِيمًا ﴿١٩﴾ وَعَدَكُمُ اللَّهُ مَغَانِمَ كَثِيرَةً تَأْخُذُونَهَا فَعَجَّلَ لَكُمْ
هَٰذِهِ وَكَفَّ أَيْدِيَ النَّاسِ عَنكُمْ وَلِتَكُونَ آيَةً لِّلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَيَهْدِيَكُمْ صِرَاطًا
مُّسْتَقِيمًا ﴿٢٠﴾ وَأُخْرَىٰ لَمْ تَقْدِرُوا عَلَيْهَا قَدْ أَحَاطَ اللَّهُ بِهَا ۚ وَكَانَ اللَّهُ عَلَىٰ كُلِّ
شَيْءٍ قَدِيرًا﴾

"Allāh was pleased with the believers when they were swearing allegiance to you under the tree. He knew what was in their hearts. Therefore, He sent down on them Sakinah, allowed a victory near at hand and abundant spoils that they will be taking. Allāh is Mighty, Wise. He has promised you abundant spoils that you will take and made this one (immediately available) for you. Also, He restrained people's hands from you so that it might be a sign for the believers and so that He might guide you to a Straight Path. (And He promises) another (victory) over which (presently) you have no power, but Allāh has circumscribed it and, surely, Allāh has power over everything."[4, 5]

Date of the Expedition

Ibn Ishāq[6] thought that it took place in the Muharram of the

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4 *Surat Al-Fath*: (18-21).

5 Mujāhid said in the explanation of, *"and made this one (immediately available) for you,"* refers to the fall of Khayber. See *Tafsir* Ibn Kathir (7/322). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/40-41), as reported Yunus bin Bukayr in *Al-Maghāzi* of Ibn Ishāq discussing the report of Miswar and Marwān, that: "The Prophet ﷺ departed from Hudaybiyah and was between Makkah and Madinah that the *Surat Al-Fath* started coming down." Thus, Allāh gave him Khayber to which He had referred when He said, *"He has promised you abundant spoils that you will take and made this me (immediately available)."* The commentators have differed over the meaning of the spoils of this reference. 'Awfi reported Ibn 'Abbās as of belief that it was Khayber–an opinion maintained by others also.

6 *Ibn Hishām* (3/455), *Mu'allaq*.

seventh year after *Hijrah*. However, Wāqidi[7] puts it as in the Safar or Rabi'ul-Awwal, of the seventh year after the return from Hydaybiyah. On the other hand, Ibn Sa'd[8] states that it took place in Jumāda Al-Ula of the sixth year. Zuhri and Mālik have however thought that it took place in the Muharram of the sixth year.[9] The difference between Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi is minor: two months. So also, the difference between these historians on one side and Zuhri and Mālik on the other is because of their differences over when to start dating the Hijri calendar. This we have spoken of earlier. Ibn Hajar[10] has preferred Ibn Ishāq's opinion over that of Wāqidi.

The believers started off for Khayber in full confidence, despite their knowledge of the strength of those forts and of the fighting experience of those who held them. They were uttering Allāh's Name and chanting His glory in a raised voice. The Prophet ﷺ told them to spare their souls by saying, "You are addressing Someone who is the Hearer, and is near. He is with you."[11] They took the road that lay between Ghatafān and Khayber in order to disperse the Ghatafān, another of their enemies, and prevent them from helping the Khayber Jews.[12]

They ascended into the valleys in front of the forts just before dawn, having done their dawn prayers a little away. They attacked them immediately after sunrise when their men began to emerge from the fort to attend to works. Surprised, they cried out, "Muhammad and his army." The Prophet ﷺ said, "Allāh is Great. Khayber is destroyed. When we ascend into a people's fields, then, that is an evil day for those who had been warned."[13]

The Jews withdrew into their forts and the Muslims laid siege around them. When Ghatafān came to know of it, they started out hoping to strengthen the Jews. But, on their way they heard that they might be attacked by the Muslims from the rear and so they

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7 *Al-Maghāzi* (2/634).

8 *At-Tabaqāt* (2/106).

9 Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq* (1/33).

10 *Al-Fath* (16/41).

11 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/50/H. 4205).

12 Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (2/458).

13 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/288/H. 610), *Muslim* (3/1426-1427/H. 1365).

returned leaving the Jews to face the Prophet ﷺ all by themselves,[14] and the Muslims began to capture the forts one after another. The first to fall were the Nā'im and Sa'b forts in the Natāh region, and Ubaiy and Nizār in the Shiqq region. These two regions lay in the north-east of Khayber. Then Qamus fort of the Kutaybah region fell to them. That was Ibn Abu Huqayq's fort. Finally, the forts of the Watih and Sulālim regions were subdued.[15]

Muslims faced some very strong resistance at some of the forts. Nā'im fort was one of them where Mahmud bin Maslamah Ansāri was martyred when Marhab dropped a millstone on him under the fort wall.[16] The fort took ten days to be captured.[17] At first the forces were commanded by Abu Bakr ﵁. But he didn't succeed. When the people had tried their best and didn't succeed, the Prophet ﷺ announced that he would give the command to someone the next day who loves Allāh and His Messenger and whom Allāh and His Messenger love. He will not return but victorious. The next day, after the dawn prayers he gave the command to 'Ali ﵁ and Allāh (ﷻ) granted him victory.[18]

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[14] Ibn Ishāq with a complete chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/458), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/650).

[15] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/639) and Ibn Ishāq with an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/461-462) with differences between them over which fort fell earlier than another.

[16] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/464) which mentions his martyrdom without detailing the manner; Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain–*Ibn Hishām* (3/459) who mentioned the killing with a millstone, not mentioning who threw it; and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/654) who named the one who threw the stone as Marhab, the Jew.

[17] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/657).

[18] *Musnad Ahmad* (5/353), and *Al-Mustadrak* of Hākim (3/37) who said the report was authentic and Dhahabi agreed to it; *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/150) which Haythami declared trustworthy. The original story is in *Sahih Muslim* (4/1872/H. 2405-2407) which does not mention that Abu Bakr ﵁ was carrying the banner.

In other reports, though weak, it has been mentioned that the one who carried the banner before 'Ali ﵁ was 'Umar ﵁ and not Abu Bakr. Other reports say that Abu Bakr and 'Umar alternated in carrying the banner during the first two days. These reports are in *Musnad Ahmad* (5/358), and in *Kashful-Astār* (2/338). They depend on Maymun Basri who was weak.

'Ali suffered an eyesore. The Prophet ﷺ spat in his eyes, supplicated for him and they became all right.[19]

The Prophet ﷺ instructed 'Ali ﵁ to first invite the Jews to Islam before attacking them. He said, "By Allāh, that a single man should embrace Islam because of you is better for you than red camels."[20] When 'Ali asked him, "What is it over which I fight the people?" he answered, "Fight them until they testify, 'there is no deity except Allāh and Muhammad is His Messenger.' When they do that, their blood and wealth are unlawful unto you except by their right. And thereafter, their reckoning is upon Allāh."[21]

While the fort was under siege, its chief Marhab, who was a fearful fighter, came up to the fort wall. He was the one who was responsible for 'Āmir bin Akwa's martyrdom. He asked for a duel. 'Ali fought him and killed him.[22] That drove fear into the hearts of the Jews and finally led to their defeat.

'Ali showed a lot of strength and courage in his fight.[23] Abu Rāfi' reports that when he neared the fort some soldiers came out to fight him. As he fought he was hit by an opponent and his shield fell off his hand. 'Ali pulled out a door-wing off the fort wall[24] and used it as a shield until victory was his. After the fighting was over, he threw away the door-wing. Rāfi' reports, "I was one of the seven who tried to lift the door-wing but we could not even turn it around."

Another is with Ibn Ishāq and *Ibn Hishām* (3/465-466). These chains have in them Buraydah bin Sufyān who was also weak. Thus the weak reports lend support to each other.

[19] *Muslim* (4/1872/H. 2406), and reported by Ibn Ishāq with a weak chain which gathers strength from supporting narratives–*Ibn Hishām* (3/466). See *Kashful-Astār* (2/338-39) and *Hākim* (3/38-39).

[20] *Muslim* (4/1871/H. 2404, 2405).

[21] Ibid, (p. 1872/H. 1405).

[22] Ibid, (3/1440/H. 1807).

[23] *Ibn Hishām* (3/467) with a weak chain for it has a narrator that Ibn Ishāq did not name.

[24] Bayhaqi quoted it in his *Dalā'il* (4/212), being a narration of Ibn Ishāq. It looks like some errors crept in during copying so that it says that 'Ali took a fort-door and used it as a shield.

Bayhaqi[25] reported the incident twice, both originating with Jābir. The first version says that 'Ali lifted the door-wing and men climbed over it onto the fort wall. Afterwards forty men could not lift it.[26] The second version says that seventy men lifted it with great effort to put it back to its place.[27]

Next, the Muslims turned to the Sa'b bin Mu'ādh fort. Hubāb bin Mundhir was in command. They forced open its doors in three days. Inside, they discovered tons of provisions which came in handy at a time they were suffering from hunger. Next they attacked the Zubayr fort. Those who had fled from the Nā'im, Sa'b and other forts, had taken refuge in this fort. As they laid siege to it, the Muslims cut off water supply, forcing them to come down and fight. In three days they overcame them. This helped the Muslims to take the other more strongly defended forts in the Natāh area more easily.

The forts in the Shiqq area became the targets next, beginning with the Ubaiy fort, which was easily taken over. Some of the Jewish fighters escaped from this one and took refuge in the Nizār fort. So the Muslims turned next to that fort and eventually it fell. The rest of the fighters of the Shiqq forts had gathered themselves in the Qamus, Watih and Sulālim forts. Muslims laid siege to these forts. The siege lasted for some fourteen days until the Jews sought peace.[28]

25 *Dala'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (4/212).

26 This route has all trustworthy narrators except for Layth bin Abu Sulaym who was alright except that he confused (words and narrators). His narratives could not be analyzed and so he was abandoned. Bayhaqi said in *Dalā'il* (4/212) that he was followed by Fudayl bin 'Abdul-Wahhāb and he from Muttalib bin Ziyad.

27 This is also a weak route as said Shāmi in *Sirat* (5/201) where he remarked: "Hākim recorded it."

I would like to add that these weak reports strengthen each other pointing to the fact that they have an origin. I prefer to accept the text of Ibn Ishāq for it happens to be the most rational. As for other reports, there is no reason not to accept them in the light of the assumption that they can be explained as one of the thaumaturgies of 'Ali ﷺ.

28 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/658-671).

Thus, Khayber[29] was brought to control with the help of some good fighting. Some scholars have said that it was taken over through peace-treaties. But Bukhāri,[30] Muslim[31] and Abu Dāwud[32] are of the opinion that it was conquered by force.

By the time the Prophet ﷺ could wrap up his affairs at Khayber, Allāh (ﷻ) sent down fear into the hearts of the Fadak population. They were in the north of Khayber. They sent peace proposals on condition that half of the Fadak produce would be sent to the Muslims every year. The Prophet ﷺ accepted the proposal and the Fadak income was marked for him because no fighting had taken place over it.[33]

Altogether the Jews lost some ninety-three men[34] in the battles. Some women and children were also taken slaves. One of them was Safiyyah, the daughter of Huyaiy bin Akhtab. She fell in Dihyah's lot. But, since she was the daughter of a chieftain, the Prophet ﷺ purchased her and freed her. Later he married her,[35] going into her during his return journey to Madinah. That night Abu Ayyub Ansāri guarded his tent.[36]

From among the Muslims, some twenty men attained martyrdom. That is Ibn Ishāq's report.[37] Wāqidi, however, said

29 See the discussion regarding Khayber that it was partly captured through force, while a part was captured through armistice. Ibn Qayyim stated in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/352-4) and Ibn Abdul-Barr in *Ad-Durar*, p. 214, that it was all taken by force. So said 'Iwad Shahri in his thesis, *Marwiyyāt Khayber* pp. 197-199.

30 *Al-Fath* (3/32/H. 371).

31 *Sahih Muslim* (3/1427/H. 1365).

32 *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (3/408-410/H. 3009) through an authentic chain.

33 Reported by Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (3/490-491); *Abu Dāwud* (3/414/H. 3016). Mundhiri said in *Mukhtasar Sunan Abu Dāwud* (4/239): "This is a *Mursal* report." Abu Yusuf said in *Al-Khirāj*, p. 50, that it has Kalbi in it who had been abandoned.

34 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/700), and Wāqidi's reports are generally weak for he was abandoned in *Hadith* matters.

35 *Muslim* (2/1045-1046/H. 1365), *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/59-60/H. 4211) who states that he chose her for himself.

36 Reported by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (4/28) treating it as authentic with the approval of Dhahabi.

37 *Ibn Hishām* (3/478), *Mu'allaq*.

they were fifteen.[38]

One of those martyred was a dark-faced shepherd of a Khayber Jew. He went up to the Prophet ﷺ, along with his sheep, while he lay siege to the forts. He wished to know about Islam. The Prophet ﷺ explained to him and he became a Muslim. He asked the Prophet ﷺ about his sheep. He instructed him to turn them in the direction of the forts and give them a push. So, he took them to the fort walls and gave them a push. They went away in the direction of the forts. However, as he joined the ranks of the *Mujāhidin*, he was hit by a stone missile and died. He hadn't prayed even once. When his body was brought to the Prophet ﷺ, he covered it with his own turban cloth. Then, as he was looking at his body, the Prophet ﷺ suddenly turned away. He was asked the reason. He said, "Two of his *Hur* wives are with him just now."[39]

We are reminded of another story of another martyr who set an example of a high level of sincerity. He went to the Prophet ﷺ, embraced Islam, and was ordered to emigrate. When the Khayber expedition took place, some say the Hunayn expedition, the Prophet ﷺ received booty and marked his share apart. He wasn't present because he was guarding the forces from the rear. When he arrived and was given his share he took it to the Prophet ﷺ and asked, "Muhammad! What's this?" He told him that it was his share of the booty. He said, "I didn't follow you for this. I have followed you so that I may be shot at here," and pointing to his throat with his arrow, he added, "and enter Paradise." The Prophet ﷺ said, "If you have spoken the truth, Allāh will testify to your truth." And, it wasn't long before he was hit in his throat. He was brought to the Prophet ﷺ. He remarked, "He was truthful to

[38] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/700).

[39] Reported by Ibn Ishāq up to the final authority—*Ibn Hishām* (3/479-480); Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/136) through a chain different from that of Ibn Ishāq, but which he declared trustworthy although Dhahabi did not agree since its chain has Shurahbil bin Sa'd who had been accused; Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (4/219-220) tracing it through Musa bin 'Uqbah, *Mursal*, and a narrative of 'Urwah, also *Mursal* which all indicate that the story has an origin.

Allāh and so Allāh proved him true." Then he wrapped him in his own shirt and got him buried.[40]

After the battles were over, the Jews made an attempt at the Prophet's life. One of their women sent him a roasted sheep that was poisoned. She had applied poison more generously to its shoulders since she had learnt that he preferred shoulder meat. When he began to eat, the shoulder told him that it was poisoned. He threw out what was in his mouth. He cross-examined the woman and she admitted to poisoning the meat. He let her go without any punishment.[41] However, later Bishr bin Bara' bin Ma'rur died of the poison. He had taken a bite or two of the meat. So the Prophet ﷺ ordered the woman to be killed in retaliation.[42]

Finally, a peace treaty was worked out between the Jews and the Muslims on the following terms:

- Immovable property, including the cattle, were to remain in Jewish possession on the condition that they will work on the lands and pay fifty percent of the produce yearly to the Muslims.
- All investments on the lands would be made by the Jews themselves.[43]
- They were to remain in the lands so long as the Muslims wished, leaving when ordered to leave.

[40] Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/276) through reliable sources.

[41] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/261/H. 3169), and *Muslim* (4/1721/H. 2190).

[42] Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/220), and 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* through his own chain reaching Ubaiy bin Ka'b as Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Fath* (16/18); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/679); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/256-264), who gathered together all the reports on this topic. See the redactor's notes on this subject especially what Dr. Munir 'Ajlāni, chief editor, *Al-Majallatul-'Arabiyyah*, has brought to light to the effect that the poisoning was done by the concurrence of the Jews. This supported by an ancient Armenian document which 'Ajlāni discussed during presentation of his article in the said magazine, third edition, second year. However, the document is questionable. Had the case been as what it presents, then the action against them would have been different, since they would all have participation in the assassination attempt.

[43] A report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/80-81/H. 4248) and *Muslim* (3/1186-1187/H. 1551).

It was 'Umar bin Khattāb ﷺ who exiled them to Tayma' and Jericho[44] following the Prophet's behest at the time of his death, "Exile the pagans from the Arabian Peninsula."[45] Also, these people never stayed quiet. First they killed 'Abdullah bin Sahl. But they refused to own up, so the Prophet ﷺ let them go and paid himself the blood money.[46] Later, at the time of 'Umar ﷺ, they attacked 'Abdullah bin 'Umar ﷺ twisting and fracturing his hands.[47]

They also agreed to the clause that the Prophet ﷺ would send a delegation every year to estimate the produce and receive the Muslim share.[48]

As for movable property, it was agreed that gold, silver, arms and shields would be for the Prophet ﷺ, while they would retain what their mounts could carry; but they would not conceal any wealth. If they did that, they would not escape from the punishment by any treaty. Yet they concealed a treasure casket that belonged to Huyaiy bin Akhtab. He had carried it along with him the day he had left Madinah along with the rest of the Banu Nadir. When the Prophet ﷺ inquired his uncle Sa'yah about it, he replied, "It was

[44] *Muslim* (3/1188/H. 1551), *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/239/H. 3152).

[45] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/242) through an authentic chain. It was also reported by Ibn Ishāq but the report stops at Zuhri—*Ibn Hishām* (3/495). Its words are, "Let not two religions coexist in the Arabian Peninsula." Ibn Hishām recorded it in a *Mursal* format, through 'Ubaydullah bin 'Abdullah bin 'Utbah as a narrative of Zuhri (3/490). Ahmad also reported in his *Musnad* (6/27) through a reliable chain, and 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (6/257) through two chains: first through a well connected chain ending with 'Āishah ﷺ, while the other stops at Ibn Jurayj.

[46] Reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/340/H. 6142, 6143) and *Muslim* (3/1291-1295/H. 1669). We have contended ourselves with these two for reasons of brevity.

[47] *Musnad Ahmad* (1/90/H. 90/Shākir) through an authentic chain, and Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/495).

[48] Being a tradition with Ahmad in *Musnad* (7/7/Shākir) via a reliable chain. Also a tradition of Ibn 'Umar in *Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/125) through a trustworthy report; Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (3/697) through a *Hasan* chain; Bayhaqi in the *Sunan* (9/137-138); Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* as in *Mawāriduz-Zamān* (412-413) both through a single trustworthy chain, and Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (3/491-492).

eaten up by expenditures and consumed by wars." The Prophet ﷺ said, "The treaty is still fresh and the amount involved is enormous." He entrusted him to Zubayr who tortured him. He admitted to seeing Huyaiy foraging around in the ruins. When searched, the treasure was found there. So Ibn Abu Huqayq was killed in retaliation and his women and children were taken slaves. And Muhammad bin Maslamah was allowed to kill Kinanāh, the one who had led them to the treasure, in retaliation of the man having killed his brother Mahmud bin Maslamah.[49]

As for daily ration of food, every Muslim drew from the store, filled with the provision obtained as booty, according to his need. It was not divided among the Muslims. Nor the one-fifth was separated from it.[50] The rest of the booty was marked for those alone who had participated in Hudaybiyah. This was following Allāh's Words,

﴿سَيَقُولُ ٱلْمُخَلَّفُونَ إِذَا ٱنطَلَقْتُمْ إِلَىٰ مَغَانِمَ لِتَأْخُذُوهَا ذَرُونَا نَتَّبِعْكُمْ
يُرِيدُونَ أَن يُبَدِّلُوا۟ كَلَـٰمَ ٱللَّهِ قُل لَّن تَتَّبِعُونَا كَذَٰلِكُمْ قَالَ ٱللَّهُ مِن قَبْلُ
فَسَيَقُولُونَ بَلْ تَحْسُدُونَنَا بَلْ كَانُوا۟ لَا يَفْقَهُونَ إِلَّا قَلِيلًا﴾

"Those who had stayed behind will say, as you go forth towards taking possession of the booty, 'Allow us to follow you.' They wish to alter Allāh's Words. Say, 'You shall never accompany us, this is what Allāh said earlier.' They will say, 'Rather, you envy us.' Rather, they do not understand but a little."[51,52]

None of those who had participated at Hunayn had stayed away except for Jābir bin 'Abdullah ﷺ. However, despite that, he was given a share in the spoils of Khayber, just like other participants.[53]

[49] Reported by *Abu Dāwud* in his *Sunan* (3/408/H. 3006) through a reliable chain.

[50] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/241/H. 3153); *Muslim* (3/1393/H. 1772); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/125); *Abu Dāwud* (13/151/The Book of *Jihād*); *Al-Hākim* (2/134); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/664) and others.

[51] *Surat Al-Fath*: 15.

[52] See its explanation *At-Tabari* (26/50).

[53] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended *(Mu'allaq)*—*Ibn Hishām* (3/486). Al-Bukhāri mentioned *Mu'allaq*—that the Prophet ﷺ gave Jabir bin 'Abdullah ﷺ some of

The Abyssinian *Muhājir*, known as the 'people of the ship,' were also given share in Khayber booty. They had arrived from Abyssinia just after the Khayber expedition. They were 53 men and women, led by Ja'far bin Abu Tālib. Reports say that none other than the Abyssinian *Muhājir* received a share in the Khayber spoils.[54] The Prophet ﷺ was very pleased with their arrival. He kissed Ja'far between his two eyes and hugged him. He said, "I don't know which of the two events makes me happier: Ja'far's return or the fall of Khayber."[55]

Perhaps one of the reasons that they were made the sole exception in matters of the spoils of Khayber was that they had a good reason for not participating in the Hudaybiyah battle. It is also possible that he obtained the permission of the participants of Hudaybiyah expedition to give these Abyssinian returnees a share. Another possibility is that he felt their commitment to Islam and the suffering in its path. They were known as the 'Twice Immigrants.'[56]

Khayber dates. See *Al-Fath* (12/217-218). Ibn Hajar said on p. 219 about this *Mu'allaq* report: "...It is a tradition that has been recorded by Abu Dāwud. And it appears that the tradition of Jābir that the author reported is a part of it." See Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (3/411-412/H. 3011, 3012).

[54] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/222-223/H. 3136), and *Muslim* (4/1946/H. 2502). These words can be construed to mean that he gave them without the consent of those deserving booty, for, it is reported that he gave others apart from them, but by the consent of those deserting booty. For, he gave Abu Hurayrah ؓ and some of the Daws who arrived at Khayber and did not participate in the battle. See Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (1/187), and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/71).

[55] *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (5/392/The Book of *Sunnah*/H. 5220) being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report coming from Sha'bi. This has also been reported as a well-attributed report through Jābir, as in Hākim's *Al-Mustadrak* (3/211). Hākim called it trustworthy while Dhahabi said it is *Mursal*, and through other than a chain of Jābir ؓ as in *Al-Mu'jam Al-Kabir* of Tabarāni (2/107), but none of them free of defects. Albāni examined everyone of these chains and was inclined to believe that this tradition and its supporting evidences lead us to believe that it is *Hasan*. See *Fiqhus-Sirah* of Ghazāli, p. 367.

[56] See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, p. 174; 'Iwad Shahri: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Khayber*, an unpublished Master's thesis, Jāmi'ah Islamiyyah, Madinah, p. 181. Also see *Muslim* (4/1964/H. 1690).

The Prophet ﷺ also gave Abu Hurayrah ؓ and some others of the Daws tribe shares in the Khayber spoils by the consent of the others. They too had arrived just after Khayber.[57]

Some women had also accompanied the Khayber expedition. The Prophet ﷺ gave them shares from *Fay'* (booty gained without fighting) but not from the spoils.[58] He also treated the slaves in the same manner. For example, he gave 'Umayr, Abu Lahm's slave, some movable property.[59] He also gave some gifts to a few of the Dari tribesmen. Ibn Ishāq named them.[60]

The Quraysh were following the Khayber events closely, inquiring every traveler for news. They celebrated the news when a man called Hajjāj bin 'Ilāt, the Sulami, deceived them. He told them that the Jews had delivered a severe defeat to the Muslims and that Muhammad had been captured. He also told them that they had decided to bring him to Makkah and kill him before them in retaliation of the men he had killed. It was not long before they learnt that Hajjāj's news was all lies. He had sought to collect his goods and property and clear out of Makkah before himself becoming a Muslim. Their grief knew no bounds when they learnt that the truth was exactly the opposite.[61]

After completing his affairs at Khayber, the Prophet ﷺ turned his attention to the Jews of Wādi Al-Qura, laying siege to their

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[57] 'Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (5/276).

[58] Ibn Ishāq reported it as a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (3/4876). Awzā'i reported it as in *Sahih Sunan Tirmidhi* (2/106). Albāni said: "Trustworthy of chain but *Munqati'*." As for *Muslim* (3/1444-1445/H. 812) and others, they reported that the Prophet ﷺ used to give those of the women a share in war booty who accompanied him in a campaign. He did not limit it to the Khayber campaign.

[59] One of the reports of Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/75/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2730). The *Hadith* was also reported by *At-Tirmidhi*, see Albāni: *Sahihuth-Tirmidhi* (2/106/H. 1616), and indicated that it is also in *Abu Dāwud* of his verification (H. 244). See also Ibn Kathir in his *Tārikh* (4/228); Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/223); *Ibn Mājah* (The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2855) and Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (2/131) who declared it trustworthy.

[60] See *Ibn Hishām* (3/491) without a chain.

[61] Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/466-469) through a reliable chain; Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/138); Ibn Hibbān in *Mawāriduz-Zamān*, p. 413; Bazzār in *Kashful-Astār* (2/341) and others.

dwellings. He invited them to Islam promising them that if they became Muslims, their life and property would be spared, with their reckoning left to Allāh. But they rejected. Instead, one of their fighters came out for a duel. Zubayr ﷺ answered the challenge and killed him. Then another fighter came out. Abu Dujānah ﷺ answered his challenge and also killed him. The duels cost the pagans some eleven men and evening fell. By morning they applied for peace. The Prophet ﷺ stayed there for three days and distributed the freshly obtained spoils among the Muslims. The lands, orchards, etc., were left in Jewish hands on the same terms as those of Khayber.

When the Jews of Tayma' learnt of what had happened to those of Fadak and the Wādi Al-Qura, they settled on a peace treaty with the Prophet ﷺ agreeing to pay him a certain sum yearly, remaining in possession of their property. When 'Umar exiled the Khayber and Fadak Jews, he left alone the Tayma' and Wādi Al-Qura Jews, for they fell into the Syrian territory. His opinion was that down from the Qura valley up to Madinah was Hijāz and beyond that point Shām.[62]

Trustworthy reports say that one of the Prophet's freed slaves, Mid'am was killed by a stray arrow as he was preparing the Prophet's mounts in the Qura valley. The people thought and spoke well of him, hoping Paradise for him. But the Prophet ﷺ said, "Rather not. The headgear that he took off from the booty, before its distribution, has become Fire for him." When a man heard those words he brought in a string or two saying, "This is something I had kept back." The Prophet ﷺ said, "A string or two of fire."[63]

Lessons and Legal Points

1. The Prophet ﷺ prohibited any dishonesty in matters of the spoils of war. He said that whoever deceived and died will be in the Fire. It is reported that his Companions said about a man

[62] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/709-711) through his chain leading up to Abu Hurayrah ﷺ.

[63] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/71-72/H. 4234) and *Muslim* (1/108/H. 115).

that he was a martyr. He said, "Never. I saw him in the Fire because of a cloak that he had kept back from the spoils."[64]

The story of Mid'am is another instance involving a headgear. Scholars specializing in the rules of law have other details to offer.

2. The Prophet ﷺ prohibited the meat of domestic donkey.[65]
3. He prohibited meat of the mules.[66]
4. He prohibited the meat of every wild beast that preyed on other animal's flesh as well as every bird that held its prey by its talons.[67]
5. He prohibited intercourse with any pregnant woman prisoner until she had given birth.[68]
6. He declared the back, meat and milk of such beasts (*Jallālah*)[69] unlawful, which had eaten dung or faeces.[70]

[64] *Muslim* (1/107-108/H. 114, 115).

[65] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (21/68/H. 5523-5529) and *Muslim* (2/1027-1028/H. 1407).

[66] See Ahmad, his *Musnad* (3/365) through a chain whose narrators are reliable except that it carries words 'so-and-so' beyond Abu Zubayr who often dropped his Shaykh's name. But it is supported by a report of Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (5/53/The Book of Prey) whose words on the authority of Jābir ﷺ are: "The Prophet ﷺ prohibited (on the day of Khayber) domesticated donkeys, meat of mules, every beast of prey and birds that have claws."

[67] *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (4/160/The Book of Food/H. 3802, 3803, 3805, 3806) being a tradition from Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ; *Sunan Ibn Mājah* (2/1077/The Book of Prey) and *Muslim* (3/1534, 1932, 1933, 1934) being a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās but without restricting it to a place.

[68] Reported by Ibn Jārud in his *Al-Muntaqa*, The Book of *Nikah*, p. 244, through a trusted chain.

[69] *Jallālah* of the text is for an animal that feeds on excreta until its own smell undergoes a change.

[70] Reported by Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (4/161/The Book of Food/H. 3806) through an acceptable chain. Except for Ibn Mājah all the rest of the Six documented it. Sayyid Sābiq wrote in *Fiqhus-Sunah* (3/285): "If it is kept away from excreta for a sufficient length of time and fed on clean stuff, then it is no longer described as *Jallālah*, and it can be treated as a normal

7. He prohibited loot of the spoils before they are distributed.[71]

8. A few miracles came to be shown through him for people to draw lessons. In addition to his spitting in 'Ali's eyes, that removed his ailment, and the sheep's shoulder speaking to him, it is also reported that he blew three times on Salamah bin Akwa's knee which had received a blow, and thereafter Salamah never reported any pain.[72]

9. With reference to the allotment of the share to the freshly arriving forces, if they arrive after the end of the battle, the rule we get is that they have no share in the spoils without the consent of the army.

10. The Prophet's agreement with the Jews of Khayber over the sharing of the land produce tells us that it is legal to enter into such a deal. This is known as *Mudārabah* (sleeping partnership), and whoever disallows it, but allows partnership, runs into a contradiction.[73]

11. It is not necessary for the landowner to enter into a separate deal over the seeds. For the Prophet ﷺ let the land remain in their hands on condition that they will meet with all the expenses.

12. It is allowed to estimate the fruit on the trees, and make a division between two parties. This is not the trading which is disallowed on such conditions. It is enough that the one who estimates the produce and then distributes it, is the same person.

13. It is allowed for the Commander of the Faithful to enter into a temporary treaty and then declare it null and void when he so wishes.

animal. For, the reason for prohibition was for the alteration. When that is gone, gone is the prohibition."

[71] *Musnad Ahmad* (4/348) through a reliable chain that others also documented.

[72] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/50/H. 4206).

[73] See: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/342, 345).

14. It is also allowed to make a peace deal conditional, as did the Prophet ﷺ on condition that the Jews would not conceal anything. The case involving the treasure of Huyaiy bin Akhtab represents a precedence.

15. It is allowed to pursue cases of doubt such as the Prophet's words to Kinanah, "The treaty is still fresh and the amount involved is enormous." He meant to say that the man was lying when he said, "It was eaten up by expenditures and consumed by the wars."

16. The legality of exiling the non-Muslims from an Islamic country when one can do without them, as did 'Umar ﷺ after the death of the Prophet ﷺ.

17. If head tax (*Jizyah*) was not accepted from the Jews of Khayber, it was not because they were not non-Muslims. Rather, it was because the commandments about head tax had not been revealed until then.

18. The clause and consequences of breaking of a covenant is extendable to women and offspring. Someone who remains silent is counted as one who speaks out a lie. That is what happened with Kinanah and the two sons of Ibn Huqayq. This is applicable when those who break the covenant are a group. However, if the one who breaks the covenant is a single individual, then the responsibility is not extendable to women and offspring.[74]

19. Legality of a man freeing his slave girl, declaring the price as her dowry, and marrying her without her consent, without witnesses, without a custodian's permission and without the customary marriage ceremony—as did the Prophet ﷺ involving Safiyyah ﷺ.

20. It is allowed to lie to oneself or to others if such lying does not harm anyone and if it leads someone to obtaining his rights, as

[74] *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/348-349).

did Hajjāj bin 'Ilāt to take out his property from Makkah without doing harm to the Muslims.

21. If someone kills another by poison, his or her life will be taken away in retaliation as the Jewish woman was killed for causing the death of Bishr bin Bara'.

22. Legality of accepting slaughtered animal's food from the People of the Book, legality of its consumption, and legality of accepting gifts from them—as was the incident involving the Jewish woman.

23. The Commander of the Faithful is free to divide the spoils of a conquered land, or give it away in endowment, or divide some and give away in endowment a part of it. The Prophet ﷺ did all the three. He divided the spoils of Banu Qurayzah and Banu Nadir. He didn't consider Makkan property as booty while he divided some of the Khayber property while some he did not.[75]

[75] See Shahri: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Khayber*, p. 198, Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/329).

Chapter **16**

Letters to Kings, Rulers and Chieftains

Introduction

The Hudaybiyah treaty allowed the Prophet ﷺ the opportunity to expand his missionary activities, both within the Arab world as well as outside; for Islam is a religion that knows no boundaries. A few Qur'ānic Verses can be quoted in evidence. One of them says,

﴿وَمَآ أَرْسَلْنَٰكَ إِلَّا كَآفَّةً لِّلنَّاسِ﴾

"And We haven't sent you (O Muhammad) but to all mankind."[1]

Another says,

﴿قُلْ يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّاسُ إِنِّى رَسُولُ ٱللَّهِ إِلَيْكُمْ جَمِيعًا﴾

"Say, 'O people! I am indeed Allāh's Messenger unto you all.'"[2]

A third says,

﴿وَمَآ أَرْسَلْنَٰكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَٰلَمِينَ﴾

[1] *Surat Saba'*: 28.

[2] *Surat Al-A'rāf*: 158.

"We haven't sent you (O Muhammad) but a mercy unto the worlds."[3]

Therefore, it was expected that the Prophet ﷺ would send letters of invitation to kings and rulers.

Nonetheless, there are differences in opinion among the historians over when the delegates were sent carrying his letters. Ibn Sa'd[4] says that when the Prophet ﷺ returned from Hudaybiyah in the month Dhul-Hijjah of the sixth year, he sent letters to the kings inviting them to Islam. Six men started out on the same day (in six directions) in Muharram of the seventh year AH.

Tabari[5] however says that the six were sent in Dhul-Hijjah. This is also Wāqidi's opinion. It is clear from Wāqidi's report mentioned by Ibn Sa'd that the Prophet ﷺ returned from Hudaybiyah in Dhul-Hijjah but the men were dispatched in Muharram of the seventh year. So, Dhul-Hijjah report could be Tabari's error. As for Ibn Ishāq,[6] he doesn't state any date of dispatch. He merely states that they were sent in the years between Hudaybiyah and his own death. According to one version, "The Prophet ﷺ chose a few of his Companions to carry his letter to rulers of the Arab and non-Arab lands. That was between Hudaybiyah and his own death." Ibn Hishām[7] however believes that the sending of the delegates was after he was prevented from the *'Umrah* in the year of the Hudyabiyah.

Ibn Sa'd[8] dates the letter to Kisra, the Persian emperor, as the night of 23rd of the Jumāda Al-Ula of the seventh year – the month in which Kisra was assassinated. Bukhāri[9] however mentioned the

3 *Surat Al-Anbiya'*: 107.
4 *At-Tabaqāt* (1/258) through a chain involving his Shaykh Wāqidi and through his chains of transmission.
5 *Tārikh* (2/644) being a narration of Wāqidi.
6 Tabari quoted it in *Tārikh* (2/645) through a weak chain.
7 *Sirat* (3/338), which is part of a report he mentioned with a complete chain. Also reported by Ibn 'Asākir and Daylami in his *Musnad*, as in *Kanzul-'Ummāl* (10/634-635); Tabarāni as in *Al-Majma'* (5/305-306) which has Muhammad bin Ismā'il bin 'Ayyāsh in it who was weak.
8 *At-Tabaqāt* (1/260).
9 *Al-Fath* (16/257/H. 4424).

letter to Kisra along with the events that followed after the Tabuk expedition in the ninth year after *Hijrah*. Nevertheless, it is obvious that Bukhāri did not mention events in his *Sahih* in chronological order. He intended to merely collect reports that met with his conditions of acceptance. Ibn Hajar has pointed to the possibility of change in placement (*taqdim wa tā'khir*). For example, he mentions the Farewell pilgrimage before Tabuk expedition.[10]

In conclusion, a detailed study leads one to incline towards the opinion of Ibn Ishāq in this regard.[11]

The Prophet's Letter to Najāshi

It is proved through trustworthy narrations that the Prophet ﷺ wrote to Najāshi:[12] "Come to a word common between you and us: 'that We shall not worship but Allāh and that some of us will not take others as lords besides Allāh.' But if they turn away, then say, 'Bear witness that we have submitted ourselves.'" In response, he, and those around him, turned Muslims. He sent a cloak as a gift to the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ remarked , "Let him alone so long as he leaves you alone."[13]

It was 'Amr bin Umaiyah Damri who had carried the letter to him.[14]

Zayla'i[15] and others report from Wāqidi that the letter the

10 See *Al-Fath* (16/237) and (16/204-205/H. 4363).
11 See 'Awn Sharif Qāsim: *Diplomāsiyyatu Muhammad* ﷺ, p. 59-60.
12 *Muslim* (3/1397/H. 1774).
13 Abu Dāwud preserved it in the *Sunan* (4/490/H. 4309) in words: "Leave the Abyssinians as long as they leave you..." – *Al-Hākim* (4/453), being a report of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar; Ahmad in *Musnad* in the same words but a narrative of Abu Umāmah bin Sahl bin Hunayf, he from a Companion. Abu Dāwud also reported it (4/485/H. 4302); *An-Nasa'i* (6/44/The Book of *Jihād*) a report of Abu Sakinah from a Companion of the Prophet ﷺ in words, "Leave alone the Abyssinians so long as they leave you, and stay away from the Turks so long as they stay away from you." It is a *Hasan* report. See *Jāmi'ul-Usul* by Ibn Athir (9/223) and (11/296).
14 See *Usdul-Ghābah* (4/193-194); *Ibn Hishām* (4/338) completing the chain, and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/258) as a narration by Wāqidi.
15 See *Nasbur-Rāyah li Ahādithil-Hidāyah* (4/421), see also *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin* by Ibn

Prophet ﷺ wrote to Najāshi through 'Amr bin Umaiyah Damri said:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

I convey to you the Exaltedness of Allāh besides Whom there is no other deity: the Sovereign, the Holy, the Peace-giver, the Guardian. And I bear witness that 'Isâ the son of Maryam, was a spirit from Allāh and His Word that He blew into Maryam the virgin, the virtuous. He created Him by His spirit and blew into him (life) just as He created Adam with His Hand.

And I invite you to Allāh, the only God, who has no partners whose guardianship is obtained through His obedience. And that you should follow me and believe in that which has come to me, for I am Allāh's Messenger. I invite you and your forces to Allāh, the Most High. I have thus delivered the message to you and have admonished you. So, accept my good advice. And peace be upon him who followed the true guidance."

Abu Musa Madini says at the end of the book on the Companions by Ibn Mandah, (although with a *Mu'allaq* chain of narrators), that Najāshi sent a reply to the Prophet's letter through his son. He also mentioned the text which declares that Najāshi had embraced Islam and, if the Prophet ﷺ so wished, he could come down to Madinah. The text names his son as Arha bin Asham and adds that his son started off from Abyssinia with sixty men but their boat ran into troubled waters and sank with them.[16]

It is also confirmed by reports that the Prophet ﷺ offered the funeral prayers in absentia for Najāshi when he died in the ninth year after *Hijrah*.[17]

Tulun, pp. 50-51.

[16] This was said by Ibn Tulun, p. 50. See the paper for details. See also Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/653) whose textual materials were copied by Zayla'i in *Nasbur-Rāyah* (4/421), and Ibn Sayyidin-Nās in *Al-'Uyun* (2/264-265).

[17] See the relevant part that deals with Najāshi's Islam.

The Prophet's Letter to Kisra

Bukhāri[18] reports through Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ: The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Abdullah bin Hudhāfah Sahmi, along with a letter to Kisra instructing him to hand it over to the governor of Bahrain,[19] who would forward it to Kisra. After reading it, Kisra tore it up." The narrator Zuhri reported Ibn Musaiyab as saying, "The Prophet ﷺ prayed against them that Allāh tear them to pieces."

Kisra wrote to his governor Bāzān in Yemen instructing him to send two strong men to 'this man in Hijāz' and gather news concerning him. Bāzān sent a commander along with another man.[20] They carried a letter from him. They came down to Madinah and handed over the letter to the Prophet ﷺ. He smiled and offered them Islam while they stood there trembling before him. He ended by saying, "Come back to me tomorrow and I shall have some news for you." When they presented themselves the next morning he told them, "Go back and tell Bāzān, 'My Lord killed his lord Kisra last night.'" That was seven hours after the event. The date was the thirteenth night of Jumāda Al-Ula of the seventh year AH. Allāh (ﷻ) had let lose Kisra's own son Sherweh over him who assassinated his own father. The two returned to Bāzān with the news and he, along with those of his children who were in Yemen,[21] became Muslims.

It is also stated that the Kisra in question was Ibriwaiz bin Hurmuz.[22] Butler[23] says that Ibriwaiz's murder took place in March

[18] *Al-Fath* (16/256-257/H. 4424).

[19] His name was Mundhir bin Sāwa, as Zurqāni mentioned in *Sharhul-Mawāhibil-Ladunniyyah* (3/341) and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/257).

[20] His name is Babuwayh, He was the secretary and accountant. His other name was Khar Khasrah as mentioned by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/655).

[21] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/260) from a narration by his teacher Wāqidi. It was reported in complete by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/655-657) tracing it through Ibn Ishāq, he through his teacher Zayd bin Abu Habib Misri, *Mursal*. It has some additions, viz., the name of the two delegates of Bāzān, their description and their talk with the Prophet ﷺ. As for the date of Kisra's murder at the hands of his son Sherweh, Tabari attributed it to Wāqidi.

[22] *Az-Zurqāni*: (3/341).

[23] *Fath Misr*, pp. 138-153.

the year 628 AD. This places the receipt of the Prophet's letter a month or two earlier which agrees with Wāqidi's report.

Tabari[24] has preserved the text of the letter. Ibn Tulun[25] and others have also the same text. It says:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

From Muhammad, Allāh's Messenger to the emperor of Persia.

Peace be upon him who followed the guidance, believed in Allāh, His Messenger, attested that there is no deity save one God who has no partners, and that Muhammad is His slave and Messenger.

I invite you by Allāh's leave. For, indeed, I am Allāh's Messenger sent to all the peoples in order that I might warn him who is alive and so that the word comes true on the disbelievers. Therefore, believe, you will enter into peace. But if you refused, then the sin of the Magi (Persians) will be upon you."

The Prophet's Letter to the Roman Emperor

The *Sahihayn*[26] inform us that the Prophet ﷺ sent Dihyah Kalbi with a letter to the Roman Emperor inviting him to Islam. That was in the post-Hudaybiyah period. It is the second of the two texts that enjoys authenticity following the conditions set by the Traditionists. It said:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

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[24] *Tārīkh* (2/654-655) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Mursal* chain; Abu 'Ubayd in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 253, *Mursal*. Thus the report acquires the status of *Hasan* as mentioned by Albāni in his footnotes on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, p. 388.

[25] *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin 'an Kutub Sayyidil-Mursalin*, pp. 61-62.

[26] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/69-72/H. 2940, 2941), and *Muslim* (3/1393-1397/H. 1773) both quoting a long tradition from Abu Sufyān describing the Prophet ﷺ.

From Muhammad, Allāh's slave and His Messenger, to Heraclius the emperor of Rome.

Peace upon him who followed the guidance. I invite you to Islam. Become a Muslim and you will enter into peace. Become a Muslim and Allāh will grant you twice the reward. But if you turn away, then the sin of the common folk will be upon you.

﴿قُلْ يَٰٓأَهْلَ ٱلْكِتَٰبِ تَعَالَوْاْ إِلَىٰ كَلِمَةٍ سَوَآءٍۭ بَيْنَنَا وَبَيْنَكُمْ أَلَّا نَعْبُدَ إِلَّا ٱللَّهَ
وَلَا نُشْرِكَ بِهِۦ شَيْـًٔا وَلَا يَتَّخِذَ بَعْضُنَا بَعْضًا أَرْبَابًا مِّن دُونِ ٱللَّهِ ۚ فَإِن تَوَلَّوْاْ
فَقُولُواْ ٱشْهَدُواْ بِأَنَّا مُسْلِمُونَ﴾

Say, 'O people of the Book. Come to a word common between us and you that we shall not worship anyone except Allāh and shall associate not aught with Him, and that some of us shall not take others as our lords, besides Allāh.' But, if they turn away, then say, 'Bear witness that we have become Muslims.'"[27]

Bukhāri and Muslim perhaps chose to preserve the text of the letter to the Roman emperor, in order to show their preference to the opinion that the Verse quoted above was revealed previous to the sending of the letter, and not in the ninth year after *Hijrah* as reported through some weak narratives.[28]

When the Roman emperor received the letter, he sent across scouts to search for someone who knew the Prophet ﷺ, preferably someone who was from his tribe and family. He came to know of a group of Arab merchants among whom was Abu Sufyān. He ordered him to be brought in along with a translator. He asked, "Which of you is the closest to this man who claims to be a Prophet?" Abu Sufyān said, "I am the closest to him by lineage." He made him come forward and asked his companions to sit behind him so that he might feel shy of being called a liar if he lied. Then he began to question him seeking information about the Prophet ﷺ, the

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[27] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 64.

[28] See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni*, pp. 152-153, and *Diplomāsiyyatu Muhammad* ﷺ by Dr. 'Awn Sharif Qāsim, pp. 61-62.

details of which have been preserved in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. He concluded from the talk with Abu Sufyān that Muhammad ﷺ must be a Prophet. He said at the end of his conversation, "If he be what you claim, then one day he will own the land under my feet. I knew that he was about to appear. But I didn't think he would be one of you. If I could manage to extricate myself (of the responsibilities), I would bear any hardship to reach him. If I was with him, I would wash his feet."

Then he turned to Dihyah Kalbi who had carried the letter and said, "I understand that your man is the Commissioned One, the very Prophet we were waiting for, as prophesied in our Books. But I fear my life from the Romans. If not for that, I would have followed him." Then he sent Dihyah to Daghātir, a scholar and bishop among them on the pretext that he was the most learned of the Romans in affairs of this sort.

Ibn Hibbān[29] reports that when Dihyah went, he encountered the emperor in Jerusalem. He cast the letter on his throne and turned aside. When the emperor had read the letter, he promised peace to the bearer. It was then that Dihyah appeared before him. He asked Dihyah to present himself in his capital city. When he went there, he ordered that the doors be shut behind him. Then he ordered a caller to cry out, "The emperor has abandoned Christianity and believes in Muhammad." At that his soldiers rushed upon him with their arms and laid siege to his palace. The emperor said to the Prophet's messenger, "You can see why I fear my subjects." Then he ordered his caller to cry out, "The emperor is satisfied with you. He wished to test you to see how strong you are in your religion. Now return." So they went away and he wrote to the Prophet that he believes in him. He also sent him some dinars. The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Allāh's enemy has lied. He is on his Christian religion." Then he ordered the dinars divided among the people.

[29] *Sahīh Ibn Hibbān – Mawāriduz-Zamān* (H. 1628) through a reliable chain, as said the researcher of *Zād* (1/121). Abu 'Ubayd also reported it in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 255, through a trustworthy chain, although *Mursal*. Al Zurqāni quoted it in *Al-Mawāhib* (3/240) by *Al-Fath* route saying that it is in *Musnad* too, without mentioning the Companions. See Albāni's commentary in *Fiqhus-Sirah*, p. 386.

It can be deduced from the emperor's non-acceptance of Islam that he could not get over the love of his kingdom, preferring it over Islam. If Allāh (ﷻ) had wished to guide him, he would have helped and supported him, as He helped Najāshi, who, despite embracing Islam, retained his kingdom.[30]

The Prophet's Letter to Hārith bin Abu Shimr, the Ghassāni

Wāqidi[31] reports that the Prophet ﷺ wrote a letter to Hārith bin Abu Shimr, the Ghassāni.[32] He sent it through Shujā' bin Wahb. Wāqidi gives the text. Hārith was annoyed by the letter and refused to embrace Islam. Instead, he began to prepare his forces to attack Madinah. But Heraclius interfered and called him to Iliyā', that is, Jerusalem.

The Prophet ﷺ had sent Shujā' during his return journey from Hudaybiyah. Shujā''s narration leads us to believe that the Prophet ﷺ sent him to Hārith at the same time as he sent Dihyah to Heraclius for, when Shujā' reached Hārith, he discovered that Dihyah was with Heraclius in Iliyā'.[33]

Shujā''s narration also tells us that Hārith's gatekeeper, a Roman named Muri, embraced Islam when Shujā' informed him about the Prophet ﷺ and introduced Islam to him.

[30] Nawawi: *Sharh Muslim* (12/107/The Book of *Jihād*).

[31] Tabari quoted it in his *Tārikh* (2/652), The story was mentioned by the biographers through weak chains.

[32] One of the rulers of Ghassan at the boundaries of Shām.

[33] *At-Tabaqāt Al-Kubra by Ibn Sa'd* (2/261); 'Uyunul-Athar fi Fununil-*Maghāzi was-Siyar* by Ibn Sayyidin-Nās (2/270-271), and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin 'an Kutub Sayyidil-Mursalin* by Ibn Tulun, pp. 103-104, and *Al-Mawāhib* by Zurqāni (3/356).

I might point out that the main part of the letter is in Tabari in his *Tārikh* (2/652) as a report of Wāqidi. We could not locate it in the *Maghāzi* of Wāqidi. The rest of the story, without the mention of the letter is in *Ibn Sa'd* (1/261). Ibn Hishām mentioned that the Prophet ﷺ sent Shujā' bin Wahb to Hārith bin Abu Shimr–*Ibn Hishām* (4/339). However, it has a weak chain, nor anyone else has a chain worthy of scholarly consideration.

The Prophet's Letter to Hawdhah bin 'Ali Hanafi, the Ruler of Yamāmah

It was Salit bin 'Amr 'Āmiri who carried the letter to him, being one of the six men who had started off together while the Prophet ﷺ was returning from Hudaybiyah. When Hawdhah read the letter, he placed the condition that if he embraced Islam, the Prophet ﷺ would give him a share in the sovereignty. The Prophet ﷺ refused him that and he died while the Prophet ﷺ was returning to Madinah after the fall of Makkah.[34]

The Prophet's Letter to Muqawqis

The Prophet ﷺ sent a letter to the Muqawqis. His name was Jurayj bin Mina. He was the ruler of the Copts based in Alexandria. The letter was carried by Hātib bin Abu Balta'ah. He said some good words, showed interest but did not embrace Islam. He sent the Prophet ﷺ Māriyah, her sister Sirin and Qaysara. The Prophet ﷺ retained Māriyah as a slave for himself. She gave birth to Ibrāhim. As for Sirin, he gifted her to Hassān bin Thābit through whom she gave birth to 'Abdur-Rahmān. The Muqawqis also sent him a thousand pieces of gold, a mule named Duldul, another black slave-girl whose name was Barirah, a eunuch slave named Ma'bur, a gray donkey called Ya'fur, a horse called Lazāz, some honey and a few other things.

When the Prophet ﷺ received Muqawqis's letter he remarked, "The evil man rejected (Islam) because of his dominion. But his dominion will not last."[35]

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[34] See the report with *Ibn Sa'd* (1/262) who has the text of Hawdhah's reply but not the text of the Prophet's letter. See *'Uyunul-Athar* (2/269-270); *Nasbur-Rāyah* by Zayla'i (4/425), and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 105-107.

[35] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/260-261) as a narration by Wāqidi which has the Prophet's words, "the evil men lied because of his dominion..."; *Ibn Hishām* (1/247) through his own chain leading up to Ibn Lahiy'ah very brief, especially the Muqawqis gifting of the Coptian Māriyah to the Prophet ﷺ. This is strengthened by the report in *Al-Bazzār* which follows. See also Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isabāh* (1/300) Hātib's biography where Ibn Hajar said, "Ibn Shāhin has traced this report through Yahya bin 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Hātib, his

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father, and his grandfather;" (about which I would like to point out that the chain of Ibn Shāhin has Sulaymān bin Arqam who had been given up).

See also Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (3/335), Ma'bur's biography. Ibn Hajar presented several traditions that gain strength from each other and lend belief that the Prophet ﷺ fell in some doubt about Māriyah and her relationship with Ma'bur. But Allāh proved his wife's innocence, removed the doubt and gave him the good news of a son from her.

Of the evidences that Ibn Hajar presented, one is the tradition in *Muslim* (4/2139/H. 2771) being a *Hadith* of Anas ؓ which says that a man used to be accused of involving the Prophet's *Umm Walad* (mother of a son). The Prophet ﷺ told 'Ali: "Go and behead the man." 'Ali ؓ went up to him and found him cooling himself off in a well. 'Ali told him, "Come out" and gave him a helping hand. As he pulled him out he found the man was castrated without a genital organ. He spared him. When he was back he told the Prophet ﷺ, "O Messenger of Allāh, he is castrated and has no genital organ."

The *Hadith* does not name the person. Ibn Abu Khaythamah however named him, as in *Al-Isābah* (3/335). Ibn 'Abdul-Hakam also recorded the incidence in the same words as of *Muslim* as in *Al-Isābah* (3/355) which also says that the one who intended to kill Māriyah's relative was 'Umar bin Khattāb. Ibn Hajar has reconciled the two narratives.

Ibn Hajar noted in *Al-Isābah* (4/405) in the biography of Māriyah: "Bazzār has documented through an acceptable source through 'Abdullah bin Buraydah and his father that, "The leader of the Copts gifted two girls and a mule to the Prophet ﷺ. He used to use the mule within Madinah and took one of the girls for himself." Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* about this report: "Bazzār's narrators are those of the *Sahih* (reports)." Ibn Kathir traced in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/340) a report of Abu Bakr bin Khuzaymah through a chain in which falls Muhammad bin Ziyād who was reliable but committed errors and Bashir bin Muhājir who too was reliable but weak in narration while the rest of the transmitters are trustworthy, and is strengthened by the report in Bazzār, whose words are: "The ruler of the Copts gifted two sister girls and a mule. He used to ride upon the mule in Madinah, and took one of the girls for himself. She gave birth to Ibrāhim through him. The second he gifted away (to someone else)."

Bazzār found fault in his master Muhammad bin Ziyād in this report. He said, after narrating this tradition, "Ibn Ziyād was in illusion of some kind in this affair. For, he narrated through Ibn 'Uyaynah; and Ibn 'Uyaynah has no Bashir bin Muhājir in his chain. But rather he narrated through Bashir bin Hātim bin Ismā'il and Dalham bin Dahsham."

I might point out that if his narration through Bashir and Dalham is proved, then the report is reliable, Allāh knows best.

The Prophet's Letter to Mundhir bin Sāwā 'Abdi

Ibn Sayyidin-Nās[36] recorded that the Prophet ﷺ wrote to Mundhir bin Sāwā 'Abdi, the ruler of Bahrain, dispatching the letter through Abu 'Alā Hadrami, after his return from Hudaybiyah. Then he added, "Wāqidi has mentioned it through a report coming from 'Ikrimah who said, 'I found this letter in the library of Ibn 'Abbās after his death. It said...'"

The summary of what Ibn Sayyidin-Nās writes about the Prophet's letter to Mundhir bin Sāwā leads us to conclude that it was a reply to Mundhir's earlier letter ascertaining that Mundhir embraced Islam along with a few others in Bahrain. However, the text of the first letter to Mundhir was not reported.

There are other reports confirming the Prophet's first letter to Mundhir. However, they are dated as Rajab of the ninth year, during the Prophet's return journey from Tabuk.[37]

See *Nasbur-Rāyah* (4/424) and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin* of Ibn Tulun, pp. 77-81, which records the letters exchanged between the Prophet ﷺ and Muqawqis.

See also the study of Dr. 'Awn Sharif Qāsim of these letters in his book *Diplomāsiyyatu Muhammad* ﷺ, pp. 80-86 (for the analysis of the texts) and pp. 256-258 (for the contents of the letters and their sources). He has referred to the discussions (pp. 81-85) that took place around the discovery in 1850 AC by the French Orientalist Bartelmi of the manuscript of the letter sent by the Prophet ﷺ. Bartelmi demonstrated that the manuscript is authentic.

See also in this connection *Fath Misr* by 'Abdul-Hakam, p. 46, which contains the first of the letters of the Prophet ﷺ to Muqawqis, as also *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* of Qāstalāni (1/292-293), which has the whole text.

36 *'Uyunul-Athar* (2/266-267). See the texts of the letters with him; with Ibn Tulun, pp. 56-57; Zayla'i: *Nasbur-Rāyah* (14/20); *Subhul-A'sha* (6/368) and *Al-Kāmil* by Ibn Athir (2/215). Ibn Sa'd has a part of it in *At-Tabaqāt* (1/263), but whose narrative contradicts the narrative of Ibn Sayyidin-Nās in matters of dates. For, Ibn Sa'd stated that it was in the eighth year after *Hijrah*, when he was leaving Ji'rānah.

37 It was reported by Ibn Tulun, p. 58, originating from Wāqidi that Zayla'i mentioned at the end of his work, *Takhrij Ahādithul-Hidāyah* (4/419-420). Therein is what Wāqidi attributed to 'Ikrimah, being the same as what Ibn Sayyidin-Nās has presented. Qalaqashandi (6/376) mentioned the text of

The Prophet's Letter to Jayfar and 'Abd, the Two Sons of Julundi

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr bin 'Ās in Dhul-Qa'dah of the eighth year after *Hijrah* carrying his letter to Jayfar and 'Abd, the two sons of Julundi of the Azd in 'Oman. The two embraced Islam in sincerity and allowed 'Amr bin 'Ās to collect *Zakāt*. The governance however remained in their hands.[38]

Other Letters

- The Prophet ﷺ sent a letter to the people of Dama, being a town in 'Oman. The Persian emperor had appointed one of his family members as the governor of the region. He was known as Bistijān. Ibn Tulun[39] has recorded the letter, with Abu Shaddād as the narrator. He was one of the Dama people. The text says:

  "From Muhammad, Allāh's Messenger, to the people of 'Oman.

  Peace. Attest to the testimony that there is no deity except Allāh and that I am His Messenger, pay the *Zakāt*, build mosques ... or I shall attack you."

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote to Ra'iyyah Suhaymi. He took the letter and used it for patching his leather bucket. The Prophet ﷺ sent a contingent against him that captured his kin and seized his wealth. He came to Madinah repentant, embraced Islam and obtained the release of his family.[40]

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the Prophet's message to Mundhir and which Abu 'Ubayd documented in his *Al-Amwāl*, The Book of *Fay'*, p. 28.

38 *'Uyunul-Athar* (2/267); *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyah* (3/352); *Nasbur-Rāyah* (4/423-424) and *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 92-96.

39 *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 97-98, and *Ibn Athir* (5/225). It is said that Dama was a city which was co-mentioned with Daba which was one of the famous Arab markets—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/461) that also referred to this letter.

40 Ibn Hajar reported this in *Al-Isābah* (1/516), and Ibn Tulun in *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin*, pp. 99-101, both through a tradition of Sha'bi. This report is also in *Musnad* of Ahmad (5/585). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (1516): "Ibn Abu Shaybah also recorded his report where he said, "Ibn Sakan said that the

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote a letter to Musaylimah the liar, the ruler of Yamāmah inviting him to Islam. It was 'Amr bin Umaiyah[41] who had carried the letter. Musaylimah wrote back, "From Musaylimah, Allāh's Messenger to Muhammad the Messenger of Allāh. Peace unto you. I beg to share with you this affair (of Messengership), on condition that I get one half, and for the Quraysh the other half of the land. But, Quraysh are an aggressive people."[42]

He sent two of his messengers carrying his letter. When they had read his letter to the Prophet ﷺ, he asked them, "What do the two of you have to say?" They replied, "Our opinion is the same as his." The Prophet ﷺ said, "By Allāh, if ambassadors were not immune, I would have ordered you two be killed."[43]

Then the Prophet ﷺ wrote back to Musaylimah:

"In the Name of Allāh, the Most Merciful, the Most Compassionate.

From Muhammad Allāh's Messenger, to Musaylimah the liar.

Peace upon him who followed the guidance. The earth belongs to Allāh. He gives it to whomsoever He wills. But the ultimate success is for the God-fearing."[44]

Thereafter no action was taken against him until the time of Abu Bakr ﷺ who fought him resulting in the huge loss of lives on both sides.

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chain of his narration is alright."

[41] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/273) being a narration of his master Wāqidi. The narrative is weak because Wāqidi had been abandoned.

[42] *Ibn Hishām* (4/329) *Mu'allaq*, and *Mu'allaq* chains are weak.

[43] Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/487), and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan*, (H. 2761) through a reliable chain as stated in the footnotes of *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/611); and Ibn Ishāq through a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/329) and a *Munqati'* report is weak.

[44] Reported by Ibn Ishāq with a *Munqati'* chain for he did not name his Shaykh the Ashja'i who narrated to him—*Ibn Hishām* (4/329) as for the Verse, it is 128 of *Surat Al-A'rāf*.

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote a letter to the ruler of Busra sending it through Hārith bin 'Umayr of Azd. Shurahbil bin 'Amr the Ghassāni interrupted him in Mu'tah, got him tied up and then beheaded him. He was the only messenger of the Prophet to lose his life.[45]

- The Prophet ﷺ wrote to Bakr bin Wā'il.[46]

- He wrote to Banu 'Amr bin Himyar inviting him to Islam.

- He wrote to Jabalah bin Ayham, the Ghassānian ruler, inviting him to Islam.

- The Prophet ﷺ also sent Jarir bin 'Abdullah Bajali with a letter to Dhul-Kula' bin Nākur and Dhu 'Amr, inviting them to Islam. The two of them embraced Islam as did the wife of Dhul-Kula'.

- He also wrote to Ma'di Karib bin Abrahah that he shall have the lands of Khawlān if he embraced Islam.

- He wrote to the chief priest of the Banu Hārtih and the priests of Najrān and those of the ascetics who followed them.

- He also wrote to Yuhannah bin Rubah the ruler of Aylah.

- He wrote to Abu Zibyān Azdi of Ghāmid. He responded by coming to Makkah along with a few of his men.

- He also wrote to Harith, Masruh and Nu'aym bin 'Abd Kulāl of the Himyar, sending the letter through 'Ayyāsh bin Abu Rabi'ah the Makhzumi.

- Another letter was written to Nufāthah bin Farwah Di'li, the ruler of Samāwah.[47]

Apart from the above, the Prophet ﷺ also wrote to several other rulers and chieftains. The details are found in history books such as, for example, that of Ibn Sa'd.

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[45] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/755-756).

[46] Reported by Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, *Al-Mawārid* (H. 1626). See also *I'lāmus-Sā'ilin* by Ibn Tulun, p.132, and *Nasbur-Rayāh* of Zayla'i (4/419).

[47] *Ibn Sā'd* (1/265-284) – originally in *Al-Wāqidi*.

Notes, Wisdom and Lessons

1. The above letters confirm a well-known rule, viz., Islam is a universal religion. Therefore, it was incumbent upon the Prophet ﷺ to invite to Islam everyone alive, using every means possible in those days to reach them.

2. The rejection by most of the rulers and kings was not because they didn't agree with Islam. It was because of their love of power and dominion.

3. The Prophet's act of stamping his letters with the help of a silver seal gives us to believe that using rings is allowable in Islam. It also proves that the owner of a ring might engrave his name on the ring, if he so wishes. Many scholars have used these reports to declare the legality of wearing a ring in the finger in which the Prophet ﷺ put on the ring, viz., the little finger.

4. The Prophet's method of getting the engraving done, with Allāh's Name at the top, and his own at the bottom, speaks of his humbleness before Allāh.

5. His declaration in the letters that if they embraced Islam, they would remain in power holding the same positions, speaks of the Prophet's statesmanship.

Chapter **17**

Expeditions between Khayber Campaign and *'Umrah*

'Umar bin Khattāb's Expedition to Turabah

The Prophet ﷺ sent thirty men headed by 'Umar ﷺ towards Banu Nadr bin Mu'āwiyah bin Bakr bin Hawāzin and Banu Jashm bin Bakr bin Hawāzin of Turabah, a place close to Makkah. When they came to know of the Muslim battalion approaching them, they fled. 'Umar and his men returned without an encounter. Banu Nadr and Banu Jushm belonged to Hawāzin.

That was in Sha'bān of the seventh year after *Hijrah*.[1]

Abu Bakr's Expedition to Najd

The Prophet ﷺ sent him to Banu Fazārah of Najd. He attacked them and killed a few. Salamah bin Akwa' was with him. He managed to capture a few children. The Prophet ﷺ asked Abu Bakr that a girl-prisoner called Jamilah be sent to him as part of his one-fifth share. Then he used her to release some of the Muslims that had been held captives in Makkah.[2]

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[1] Al-Wāqidi (2/722), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/117) a *Mu'allaq* report.

[2] Reported by *Muslim* in full (3/1375-1376/H. 1755) which Wāqidi recorded in brief as did *Ibn Sa'd* (2/117-118) but as in *Muslim*.

This expedition also took place in the Sha'bān of the seventh year after *Hijrah*.[3]

Bashir bin Sa'd's Expedition towards Fadak

The Prophet ﷺ sent Bashir along with thirty men towards the Banu Murrah of Fadak. He managed to capture and drive back their cattle while they were away in their valleys. When they came to know, they gathered forces and attacked them. Some Muslims were killed, some fled. Bashir fought until he fell. They left him presumed dead and returned with their cattle. By evening Bashir managed to reach Fadak and took shelter with a Jew until his wounds were healed. Then he returned to Madinah. However, it was 'Ulbah bin Zayd Hārithi who brought their news to Madinah.

This expedition also took place in Sha'bān of the seventh year AH.[4]

Ghālib bin 'Abdullah's Expedition to Mayfa'ah[5]

The preferred opinion is that this expedition is the one that Bukhāri,[6] Muslim[7] and Ibn Ishāq[8] have mentioned, narrating through Usāmah bin Zayd ﷺ. He said, "The Prophet ﷺ sent us to the Huraqah of the Juhaynah tribe. We attacked them early in the morning. Myself

In the report of the girl, which states that the Prophet ﷺ released by using her as ransom a few of the Muslim prisoners in Makkah, is evidence that it is allowable to use pagan prisoners as ransom for releasing Muslim prisoners.

3 *Ibn Sa'd* (2/117).

4 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/723) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/118-119)—Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

5 Mayfa'ah was behind the groves in the direction of Naqrah towards Najd, between which and Madinah was a distance of around 96 miles. It was the watering place of Banu Tha'labah and Banu 'Uwāl. See *At-Tabaqāt* (2/86).

6 *Al-Fath* (26/12/13/H. 6872) and the words are Bukhāri's.

7 *Sahih Muslim* (1/96-97/H. 158-159) and see other reports with him through sources other than Usāmah ﷺ (1/97/H. 160).

8 Ibn Kathir quoted it from him in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/248) through a *Hasan* chain.

and another man were able to overcome one of their men. When we overpowered him he said, 'I bear witness that there is no deity save Allāh.' My *Ansāri* companion withheld himself. But I gored my spear through him until he died. When we reached back Madinah and the Prophet ﷺ received the report he asked me, 'Did you kill him after he bore the testimony?' I said, 'O Messenger of Allāh. It was only an escape manoeuvre.' But he repeated, 'Did you kill him after he bore the testimony?' He kept asking that until I began to wish that I had embraced Islam only that day."

Ibn Ishāq gives the name of the person as Mirdās bin Nahik. He was of the Huraqah of the Juhaynah tribe, being allies of Banu Murrah. Wāqidi however gives the name as Nahik bin Mirdās. But the expedition he is talking about is that of Ghālib bin 'Abdullah towards those who had attacked Bashir and his companions. Ibn Abu 'Āsim gives the name as Mirdās Fadaki and that he died during the battle.[9] But most likely his name was Mirdās bin Nahik as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and the one who killed him was Usāma bin Zayd.

As for Wāqidi[10] and Ibn Sa'd,[11] they state that the expedition of Ghālib bin Abdullah in which Usāmah's incident took place was towards Mayfa'ah and that they were one hundred and thirty riders. The Prophet ﷺ had sent them to Banu 'Abd bin Tha'labah and Banu 'Uwāl. The Prophet's freed slave Yāsar was in their company. It was he who led them to the enemy positions. They overpowered the enemy and seized their cattle killing those who resisted. It took place in Ramadān of the seventh year AH.

Ibn Sa'd reports that the Prophet ﷺ told Usāmah when he came to know that he killed the man after he had said the testimony, "Why didn't you open his heart to ascertain if he was lying or speaking the truth?" Usāmah replied, "I shall never strike at anybody after this who said the testimony."

Obviously, in this is a lesson for everyone that whoever believes in the Oneness of Allāh cannot be killed. Further, a man is to be judged by what his tongue says and what deeds he performs, and not by what

9 Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (26/12-13).

10 *Al-Maghāzi* (2/724-727).

11 *At-Tabaqāt* (2/199)—Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

his heart conceals, which is beyond the reach of others. It is also an evidence of the fact that a man is to be taken by his face value and not by what lies concealed in his inner most chambers.[12]

Bashir bin Sa'd's Expedition towards Jinab

The Prophet ﷺ learnt that the tribe of 'Uyaynah bin Hisn had teamed up with a group of Ghatafān men to organize a raid on Madinah. He chose Bashir bin Sa'd to lead an expedition against them. He had three hundred men under his flag. They went as far as Yumn and Jabār, somewhere around Jināb. Jināb faces Salāh, Khayber and Qura valley. So, they encamped at Salāh. From there they descended on the enemy capturing plenty of their cattle. The shepherds fled and informed their masters. They in turn fled to their own regions. When Bashir and his men actually descended on their dwellings, they did not find anyone except two men. They imprisoned them and brought them to the Prophet ﷺ. They became Muslims and were freed. This took place in Shawwāl of the seventh year AH. According to a variant report when they descended just below Khayber they attacked the enemy in its unaware and killed one of the 'Uyaynah spies. Thereafter they met with the 'Uyaynah themselves who fled leaving behind two men whom they captured.[13]

This expedition led the 'Uyaynah chief to think seriously about Islam and resulted in talks between 'Uyaynah and his ally Hulayfah bin 'Awf Mari and Farwah bin Hubayrah Qushayri. The result of the discussions was that they'd put forward one foot but delay another.[14] Finally, they became of those whose hearts needed further softening with material help, which was done and they participated with the Prophet ﷺ in the Hunayn battle, as reported by Ibn Ishāq.[15]

[12] See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (26/13).
[13] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/120) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/727-728) both the chains are unreliable.
[14] See their story in *Al-Wāqidi* (2/729-731).
[15] *Ibn Hishām* (4/364-366) through an acceptable chain.

Chapter **18**

The Missed *'Umrah*

The Prophet ﷺ left Madinah along with his Companions heading for Makkah in Dhul-Qa'dah of the seventh year AH to perform their missed *'Umrah*, following the terms of the Hudaybiyah treaty.[1]

Bayhaqi[2] and Ibn Sa'd[3] reported that the Muslims carried their weapons with them but left them in Yā'jaj[4] outside the Haram precincts, carrying only their sheathed swords.

They were two thousand in number, women and children not counted. All those who had participated in the Hudaybiyah expedition were also present.[5]

As the Prophet ﷺ entered, 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah sang:

[1] A narrative of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/18-19); Musa bin 'Uqbah through Zuhri; Muhammad bin 'Abdul-A'la San'āni through Mu'tamar bin Sulaymān Taymi, he through his father; Ibn Lahiy'ah through Aswad, through 'Urwah as in *Dalā'il* by Bayhaqi (4/313-314); Ya'qub bin Sufyān through a *Hasan* chain, relaying through Ibn 'Umar as in *Al-Fath* (16/84/ The Book of *Maghāzi*). See the conditions in the chapter dealing with the Hudaybiyah campaign.

[2] *Ad-Dāla'il* (4/314) whose narrative is *Mursal* being originally a tradition of Musa bin 'Uqbah coming through Zuhri.

[3] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/121) *Mu'allaq*.

[4] A valley near Makkah, or a place 8 miles away from Makkah—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (5/424).

[5] Hākim said in *Al-Iklil* that reports about it were aplenty—Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/84).

"Get out of the way, O disbelievers
Today we shall strike you as we descend
A strike that will surprise the camel as it dozes
When a friend will abandon his friend."[6]

The pagans had learnt that the Muslims had been physically weakened by the Madinan fever. So the Prophet ﷺ ordered his men to throw their chests out during the circumambulation of the Ka'bah, walk fast during the first three rounds, and rush through Safa and Marwah hills, so as to impress the pagans. Witnessing from their position on Mount Qu'ayqi'ān, the Quraysh felt surprised by their strength.[7] They said to themselves, "Are these the men you said have been weakened by fever? They seem to be healthier than ordinary men."[8]

When the Prophet ﷺ had finished performing the *'Umrah*, he ordered some of his men to go back to those who were guarding the arms at Yā'jaj and release them so that they could in turn perform the *'Umrah*. Then the Prophet ﷺ entered the Ka'bah and remained there until noon. Then he ordered Bilāl ﷺ to climb the roof of the Ka'bah and call out the *Adhān* from there.[9]

When three days had elapsed, the Quraysh appeared, met 'Ali and told him to relay the message to the Prophet that the time was up for him. So the Prophet ﷺ left Makkah[10] and encamped at Sarif. He stayed there so that his Companions could take rest and refresh themselves. Then he left for Madinah. That was in Dhul-Hijjah.[11]

During his stay in Makkah the Prophet ﷺ married Maymunah the daughter of Hārith the 'Āmiri, a sister of Umm Fadl, the wife of his uncle 'Abbās, entering into her in Sarif.[12] The preferred opinion

[6] Reported by Tirmidhi who said the *Hadith* is *Hasan/Gharib* as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/86). See other reports where some Verses have been attributed to Ibn Rawāhah. See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/85-86).
[7] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/96/H. 4256, 4257), and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/239/ Shākir) through a reliable chain.
[8] *Muslim* (2/923/H. 1266).
[9] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/122) a *Mu'allaq* report.
[10] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/89-90/H. 4251).
[11] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/22-23), Ibn Sa'd (2/122) *Mu'allaq*.
[12] A report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/97/H. 4259).

is that he married her after coming out of his consecrated state.[13]

Earlier, Maymunah was married to Abu Ruhm bin 'Abdul-'Uzza. Some say she was previously married to his brother Huwaytib. A third opinion names Sakhburah bin Ruhm.[14]

While he was leaving Makkah, Hamzah's daughter 'Umārah, still a child, began to call him from behind. He took her and gave her into the care of Fātimah, her aunt. 'Ali, Zayd and Ja'far contended for her. 'Ali said, "She is my uncle's child." Ja'far said, "She is my uncle's child too, and, further, her aunt is my wife." Zayd said, "My uncle's daughter" . The Prophet ﷺ handed her over to her aunt saying, "An aunt enjoys the same status as a mother." At that time he told 'Ali, "You are of me and I am of you." To Ja'far he said, "My and your persons resemble closely." To Zayd he said, "You are our brother and our freed slave."[15] This decision was following the fact that Ja'far was the girl's *Mahram*, someone she could never marry, since a person can never bring together in his marriage a woman and her aunt.[16]

A rule of law that we learn is that an aunt is to be given preference over others after the parents. There is also evidence that a

[13] This was mentioned by Ibn Qayyim in *Zād* (3/372-374). He depends on a statement of Ibn Musaiyab which is in *Abu Dāwud* (*Sunan*/2/425/The Book of *Manāsik*); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/332, 336); *Muslim* (2/1032/H. 1411) as a report from Maymunah; Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/422/The Book of *Manāsik*); Ibn Mājah in his *Sunan* (1/632/The Book of *Nikāh*); *Ahmad* (335-336); *Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/173); Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (3/191-192/The Book of *Hajj*) where he said, "This is a *Hasan* report." Abu Rāfi' is one of those who worked on this marriage bringing Maymunah to the Prophet ﷺ while he was at Sarif. As for the statement of Ibn 'Abbās in the *Sahihayn* and others, "The Prophet ﷺ took Maymunah into marriage while he was in a state of consecration, entering into her when he came out of the consecration." Ibn Qayyim counted it as an illusion (*Wahm*). See the report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/97/H. 4258) and *Muslim* (2/1031-1033/H. 1410). Dr. Qala'ji has presented various opinions of the scholars on this topic in his footnote on *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (4/332-335).
[14] This was mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/97).
[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/90-93/H. 4251) and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (2/709-710/The Book of *Talāq*/H. 2278).
[16] See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/92) and what follows.

maternal aunt has preference over a paternal aunt and that relationship through the mother is closer than relationship through the father. For, when the Prophet ﷺ handed the child over to her maternal aunt, her paternal aunt Safiyyah was present. This is the opinion of Shāfi'i, Mālik, Abu Hanifah, and, following one of the two opinions coming from him, that of Ahmad also. A second report says that the paternal aunt is preferable over the maternal aunt. This was the opinion of Ibn Qayyim.[17]

This *'Umrah* is known by several names, each of it related to an event or the other. It is known as *'Umratul-Qada'* because of the agreements that were signed between the Muslims and the pagans. The name *'Umratul-Qada'* also refers to the *'Umrah* that was performed after the earlier, missed attempt when the Muslims were prevented at Hudaybiyah. It is also known as *'Umratul-Qisās.'* See Mughalta'i's *Life*, ed., Muhammad Futayyih, p. 290.

[17] Zādul-Ma'ād (3/375-376).

Chapter 19

Expeditions and Events between the Missed *'Umrah* and Mu'tah Expedition

Ibn Abu 'Awja's Expedition

After his return from Makkah, the Prophet ﷺ sent out Ibn Abu 'Awja' Sulami in Dhul-Hijjah of 7 AH along with fifty riders. They were accompanied by a spy belonging to Banu Sulaym. When they left Madinah, the spy broke away and informed his people. They assembled themselves into a pretty large army waiting to strike the Muslims as they passed by. When the Muslims showed up, they first offered them peace. They refused. So Banu Sulaym laid siege around them and killed them all. Ibn Abu 'Awja' was left presumed dead. But, he later managed to reach Madinah on the first day of Safar, the eighth year after *Hijrah.*[1]

The sources do not tell us anything about the reason of this expedition. But the texts lead us to believe that Banu Sulaym were antagonistic to Islam. It was these people whose help 'Amir had sought to kill seventy of the Prophet's Companions at Bir Ma'unah. They used to send spies into Madinah. This is evident from the presence of the spy who started off with the Muslims when they headed for 'Awja'. They also adopted an antagonistic attitude

[1] Al-Wāqidi (2/741) through his own chain reaching Zuhri; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/123) *Mu'allaq*, and Bayhaqi in his *Dāla'il* (4/341).

during the apostasy movement after the Prophet ﷺ, following Tulayhah bin Khuwaylid Asadi, appointing over themselves Fuj'ah bin 'Abd Yalil the Sulami as the new leader.

Obviously, it was necessary for the Muslims to keep their eyes open on those who were ever ready to play their role in any uprising against them.

'Amr bin 'Ās and Khālid bin Walid embrace Islam

Ahmad[2] and Ibn Ishāq[3] have reported that when 'Amr bin 'Ās saw the rising power of the Prophet ﷺ, he began to discuss the issue with a few of the Quraysh. He suggested that they should migrate to Najāshi, for, it was far more easily bearable to live under him rather than the Prophet ﷺ, if he overcame the resistance. But, if their people gained the upper hand, obviously, they could return. So they gathered some leather to offer as gift to Najāshi; leather being the most precious gift that Hijāz could offer. They agreed to go to Najāshi, and when they went up they found that 'Amr bin Umaiyah Damri, the Prophet's emissary, had already reached him. When he had left, 'Amr bin 'Ās entered and sought that 'Amr Damri be handed over to him since he was his enemy and he would like to kill him. Najāshi got angry and punched him on his nose. 'Amr got scared and sought forgiveness. However, when he saw that even the non-Arabs respected the Prophet ﷺ, he began to think seriously about Islam. So, when Najāshi suggested to him that he become a Muslim, taking oath on his hand, 'Amr readily agreed. He concealed his Islam from his companions and returned to Makkah.

Just before the fall of Makkah,[4] 'Amr bin 'Ās headed to the Prophet ﷺ in Madinah intending to become a Muslim. He happened to meet Khālid bin Walid who was also starting out with the same intention. So the two traveled to the Prophet ﷺ together and became Muslims.

What confirms that Khālid and 'Amr embraced Islam during the days as mentioned by Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi is that Khālid's name appears in the Mu'tah expedition which took place in Jumāda Al-Ula, of the eighth year after *Hijrah*. And 'Amr's name appears among the combatants in the expedition known as Dhātus-Salāsil that took place in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah of the same year, as we shall be discussing in a later section.

Khālid's story of acceptance of Islam has been reported by Wāqidi.[5] It says in brief that when Allāh (ﷻ) wished good for Khālid and inspired him to embrace Islam, he began to think of his own attitude towards Islam, especially after every encounter in which he faced the Prophet ﷺ. He felt that his attitude was questionable and that the Prophet ﷺ was likely to overcome all resistance. In Hudaybiyah, he felt convinced that the Prophet ﷺ was being guarded from above. For example, when the Prophet ﷺ was in 'Usfān and Khālid was intending to attack him in surprise, Allāh inspired the Prophet ﷺ to shorten his prayers and split his Companions into two groups: one offering the prayers while the other stood on guard. That did not give Khālid a chance. After the Hudaybiyah peace treaty, he realized that all was lost. He began to consider if he should migrate either to Najāshi or to Heraclius, the Roman emperor. While he was considering these options, the Prophet ﷺ entered into Makkah to perform his missed *'Umrah*. Khālid decided to stay away. But his brother Walid entered into Islam those very days. His brother started to look for him but could not find him. So he wrote a letter to him in which he expressed his surprise that an intelligent man of his sort should be hesitating over Islam. He also mentioned in the letter that the Prophet ﷺ was

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[2] *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/133-136) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

[3] *Ibn Hishām* (3/384-386) via a reliable chain, taking it from Ibn Ishāq that Ahmad reported. Wāqidi reported it with greater details (2/741-750) with reference to Khālid's Islam than those of Ibn Ishāq or Ahmad.

[4] Wāqidi specified the date as the first day of Safar on the eighth year after *Hijrah* (*Al-Maghāzi* 2/745).

[5] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/745-748), and *Ibn Sa'd* (4/252) *Mu'allaq*. He started the story with Khālid meeting with 'Uthmān bin Talhah. The story of his meeting with 'Amr bin 'Ās on his way to Madinah in order to embrace Islam is in Ibn Ishāq. Ahmad reported it through him in connection with the story of 'Amr's Islam. See the judgment about the narratives there.

inquiring after him and that he had remarked, "A man of his kind cannot miss to know Islam. If he threw his weight with the Muslims against the pagans, it would be better for him and, in return, we will accord him preference over others." When Khālid received his brother's letter, he began to make preparations to migrate. What helped him further is that he saw in a dream that he was in a narrow, deserted place, and that he was walking over to a spacious, green field. He said to himself that the dream had a meaning. When he entered into Madinah and spoke of the dream to Abu Bakr, his host, Abu Bakr interpreted that it meant that he would give up polytheism and enter into belief in the Oneness of Allāh.

When he decided to migrate, he wished he could have the company of someone to Madinah. He spoke to Safwān bin Umaiyah and 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl. But both of them refused. So he started off alone. As he started, he met his friend 'Uthmān bin Talhah and mentioned to him about his journey. 'Uthmān understood the true intention. The two agreed that they would meet at Yā'jaj. Starting off separately early in the morning from Makkah they met at Ya'jaj. From there they traveled together up to Hadah where they met with 'Amr bin Ās. When they knew what his intentions were, the three joined together in their journey to Madinah where they embraced Islam. That was in Safar of the eighth year after *Hijrah*.

Ghālib bin 'Abdullah's Expedition to Kadid

The Prophet ﷺ ordered him to organize a raid on the Banu Mulawwah in Kadid.[6] On their way they met Hārith bin Mālik at Qudayd.[7] He was the son of Barsa' Laythi. They captured him. He told them that he was on his way to the Prophet ﷺ to embrace Islam. But they would not believe him, rather bound him up and said that a night spent in that state would not kill him. They left a young man in charge of him with the instruction that he could kill him if he played mischief. Then they proceeded to Kadid. There they

[6] An area between 'Usfān and Qudayd.

[7] A large village that lies between Makkah and Madinah, that has plenty of water. See *Wafa'ul-Wafa'* by Sumhudi (4/1287).

concealed themselves and sent Jundub bin Makith Juhani to get the news. He went up a hill to peep on them. One of the enemies saw him and shot an arrow at him. It struck him, but he did not move, afraid that his companions would be discovered. He merely pulled out the arrow and kept it by his side. By morning, his companions attacked the enemy and captured their cattle. During the return journey, they passed by Ibn Barsa' and his guard and took them both along with them. In the meantime, the shepherds appealed to their tribe and other tribes of the area for aid. A force was quickly organized too large for the Muslims to face. They followed the footsteps of the Muslims until no more than a valley separated them; that of Qudayd. Just then Allāh (ﷻ) sent a flood through the valley without rains and without clouds. The enemy couldn't cross the water barrier and so the Muslims escaped.[8]

This expedition took place in Safar of the eighth year after *Hijrah*. Only a few men participated in it.[9]

Lessons

1. The flood water through the valley was sent by Allāh in honor of the Muslims.

2. In the fact that Jundub was struck with an arrow but did not move, is evidence that the Muslims of the first generation offered great sacrifices in the cause of Islam and bore many hardships for it.

3. The binding of Ibn Barsa' tells us that all security precautions must be observed in war.

[8] Ibn Ishāq recorded through a chain that the redactors of *Ibn Hishām* declared weak (4/341-43), for there falls in it Muslim bin 'Abdullah, who could not be identified. Ahmad reported through Ibn Ishāq in his *Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/128) where Sā'āti said, "Its chain is strong"; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/124); *Abu Dāwud* (3/128-129/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2678). His report does not state emphatically the hearing from Ibn Ishāq. See also *Al-Wāqidi* (2/750-752).

[9] A report of Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd - see the same footnote. The report is weak.

4. The Companions' decision to send a spy into the enemy territory suggests that there is nothing wrong in sending spies for gathering information. In fact, it is desirable in view of the safety of life and property of Muslims. The expedition also tells us that it is allowed to conduct surprise attacks, if the call to Islam has already been made earlier.

The Second Expedition of Ghālib bin 'Abdullah Laythi

The Prophet ﷺ readied a force of two hundred men to be led by Zubayr bin 'Awwām to go out to the same place where Bashir bin Sa'd's men were struck in Fadak. But when Ghālib came back from Kadid, the Prophet replaced Zubayr with Ghalib. It is said that Usāmah bin Zayd and 'Ulbah bin Zayd also accompanied the force. They attacked them, captured their cattle and killed a few of them.[10] That was also in Safar of the eighth year AH.[11]

Wāqidi[12] reports that in this expedition Usāmah bin Zayd killed Nahik bin Mirdās who pronounced the testimony of Allāh's Oneness when he was attacked. The Prophet ﷺ reproached Usāmah in very strong terms. He also reports through Miqdād bin 'Amr that Usāmah killed a man who had said the testimony and the Prophet ﷺ reproached him for that. But he does not mention that this took place during this expedition.

Controversy surrounds the issue of the murder of the man who had pronounced the testimony. It is said that it was Usāmah bin Zayd who killed him. It is also said that it was Miqdād bin 'Amr who killed him. Some reports say it happened during the Huraqah expedition, others that it happened during the Kadid expedition, while yet others that it happened during the Mayfa'ah raid. However, the truth is as we have stated: it was Usāmah who killed him in the Hirqah expedition, as stated in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*. Ibn Ishāq names the man killed as Mirdās bin Nahik through a

[10] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/723-726), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/126) who quotes Wāqidi in the same words.

[11] This was said by Ibn Sa'd (2/126) *Mu'allaq*, which is a weak kind.

[12] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/724-725) because of Wāqidi whose reports are weak.

trustworthy chain of narrators.[13]

Ka'b bin 'Umayr's Expedition towards Qudā'ah in Dhāt Atlāh

The Prophet ﷺ sent him along with fifteen men. They went as far as Dhāt Atlāh in the Shām region, behind the Qura valley. That was in Rabi'ul-Awwal of the 8th year AH.[14] They used to march during the night and hide during the day. Nonetheless, as they neared, one of the enemies saw them and warned his people. When they found that they were few in numbers, the enemies launched an attack and killed all of them except one. He managed to escape and informed the Prophet ﷺ. He wished to send another force. But he learnt that the enemy had moved to another location, and so, he abandoned the idea.[15]

Lesson

This expedition tells us about what the Companions faced in the cause of Islam. From what we have been recording in this work, it will be seen that the above incident does not stand as an exception.

Shujā' bin Wahb's Expedition towards Siyyi in the lands of Banu 'Āmir

In the month of Rabi'ul-Awwal, the 8th year AH, the Prophet ﷺ sent Shujā' bin Wahb along with twenty-four men towards a group of Hawāzin men in Siyyi. They were in the lands of the Banu 'Āmir, in the Rukbah region. They attacked them and obtained cattle as booty, returning after an absence of fifteen days. However, right behind them came those that had been attacked, and embraced Islam. So the Muslims returned a few of those they had captured. One of the slaves was a beautiful girl. She chose to remain with

[13] See above the chapter on the campaign to Mayfa'ah.

[14] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/752-753), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/127-128) being a narration of Wāqidi.

[15] Ibn Ishāq, in brief and *Mu'allaq* form—*Ibn Hishām* (4/356-357).

Shujā' bin Wahb.[16]

In the story of the girl Wadi'ah we have a fine example of the exemplary conduct of the Muslims. Even their former enemies were impressed by them and chose to be with them rather than return to their people.

This expedition could be the one that Bukhāri[17] and Muslim[18] mention in passing, reporting through Ibn 'Umar ﷺ. It says that the Prophet ﷺ sent an expedition towards Najd with Ibn 'Umar as one of the participants. They were able to capture so many camels that each of them received eleven or twelve and every one of them gave the Prophet ﷺ a camel as a gift.[19]

It is also possible that the expedition that Bukhāri and Muslim spoke of is the one that Abu Qatādah bin Rib'i Ansāri led to Khadirah. That area fell in the lands of the Ghatafān tribe in Najd. They were sent in Sha'bān of the 8th year after *Hijrah*. They were fifteen in number. They were attacked by a large force but they managed to kill their prominent men, take prisoners and capture cattle. Each of them received twelve camels as his share. Abu Qatādah received a beautiful girl. The Prophet ﷺ asked that the girl be given to him as a gift. When he did that, the Prophet ﷺ gifted her to Mahmiyah bin Jaz'.

The expedition lasted fifteen days.[20]

Zayd bin Hārithah's Expedition to Madyan

The Prophet ﷺ sent Zayd along with the freed slave of 'Ali bin Abu Tālib, a man called Dumayrah, and his brother. They captured some people of the Mina', a place near the seacoast where various

[16] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/753-754), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/127) re-narrating from Wāqidi and hence weak.

[17] *Al-Fath* (12/220-221/H. 3134) and (16/173/H. 4338).

[18] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1368/H. 1749). Bukhāri mentioned it after the expedition of Tā'if. But according to the biographers and war chroniclers, it was before journey to Makkah.

[19] See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/267).

[20] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/777); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/132) a *Mu'allaq* report and Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/34). See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/173/explanation of the *Hādith* no. 4338).

groups of disorganized people lived. When in Madinah, they were sold out during which women were separated from their children. When the Prophet ﷺ passed by, he found them weeping. He inquired what the problem was and was told that mothers had been separated from their children and sold. He said, "Don't sell them but together."[21]

The sources do not tell us anything about the date of this expedition. But it looks like it took place before the Mu'tah expedition, for Zayd was martyred in that expedition.

[21] Reported in *Ibn Hishām* (4/375-376) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain. See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah*: (2/206) where he reported through a chain different from that of Ibn Ishāq; 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (8/307); Sa'eed bin Mansur in his *Sunan* (2/248). The chains of both of them are *Munqati'*, so the report is weak. As for the disapproval of separation of children from the mothers at the time of sale, it has been demonstrated through other reliable sources, for e.g., the Prophet's statement, "He who separated a mother from her children, will have Allāh separate him from his loved ones on the Day of Standing." See it in *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (2/24-25) which Albāni declared *Hasan*. Also see Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (3/144-145/The Book of *Jihād*); Dārimi's, *Sunan* (227/The Book of *Sayr*); Bayhaqi's, *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/126/The Book of *Sayr*) who has several reports through as many chains.

Chapter **20**

The Mu'tah Expedition

One of the reasons why the Mu'tah expedition was organized is that the Prophet ﷺ sent Hārith bin 'Umayr with a letter of invitation to the ruler of Busra. He met Shurahbil bin 'Amr the Ghassāni at Mu'tah[1] and handed over the letter to him. But he ordered him to be killed. Traditionally, envoys were never killed. The Prophet ﷺ was angered and sent a force to Mu'tah in Jumāda Al-Ula of the 8th year AH.[2]

The expedition force was 3000 in number.[3] The Prophet ﷺ appointed Zayd bin Hārithah as the commander and instructed that if he is killed, Ja'far bin Abu Tālib will replace him, and if he is killed

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1 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/755-756), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/128), *Mu'allaq*, so the chains are weak.

2 This was agreed upon by the biographers and war-chroniclers: Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain until 'Urwah who dropped the next name; *Ibn Hishām* (4/23); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/128) *Mu'allaq*; Musa bin 'Uqbah and Abul-Aswad through 'Urwah as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/97/The Book of *Maghāzi*), where Ibn Hajar also mentioned that Ibn Khayyāt disagreed and said that it was in the seventh year. However, when we referred to the dates in Ibn Khayyāt, we did not find it as he stated. Indeed Ibn Khayyat reported the *Mu'allaq* narrative of Ibn Ishāq that has been referred to here. It is possible that Ibn Hajar picked it up from another source.

3 Being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain ending with 'Urwah—*Ibn Hishām* (4/24); Ibn Abu Shaybah in *Al-Musannaf* (14/512) through a *Munqati'* chain, for Hakam never heard from Miqsam except for five narratives and this is not one of them; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/756) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/128) in a *Mu'allaq* report.

then 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah[4] will take over. Wāqidi[5] and Ibn Sa'd[6] add that he said, "If 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah is also killed then let the Muslims choose their leader."

When the army was ready to leave, the Prophet ﷺ himself went some distance with them to say farewell to them. At that moment 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah began to weep. When the people asked him the reason he said, "By Allāh, it is not the love of this world nor the longing for your company. Rather, I have heard the Prophet ﷺ recite a Verse from the book which says,

﴿وَإِن مِّنكُمْ إِلَّا وَارِدُهَا كَانَ عَلَىٰ رَبِّكَ حَتْمًا مَّقْضِيًّا﴾

"And there is not one of you but will pass over it (the Hellfire): a decree that is binding upon your Lord."[7]

Now, I don't know how I'll deal with the situation when I arrive there. The believers said, 'Allāh be with you. May He repel evil from you and return you safe.' In reply Ibn Rawāhah recited some poetical lines. It said,

"But I ask the Merciful pardon
And a wide open wound discharging blood,
Or a deadly lance-thrust from a zealous warrior
That pierces the bowels and the liver;
So that men will say when they pass by my grave,
Allāh guide him, a fine fighter was he, he did well."[8]

As they started off, they arrived at a place called Ma'ān in Shām. They learnt that Heraclius, the Roman emperor, was visiting the Syrian region along with a force of 100,000 men. His forces were further strengthened by the fighters of Lakhm, Judhām, Balqayn, Bahra', Baliyi: altogether another 100,000. The latter were commanded by a man from the Baliyi tribe called Mālik bin Rāfilah.

[4] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/98/H. 4261).
[5] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/756) through his own weak chain.
[6] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/128) *Mu'allaq*, and so weak.
[7] *Surat Maryam*: 71.
[8] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain reaching 'Urwah, but it is *Mursal* and so weak–*Ibn Hishām* (4/24).

When the Muslims received the news they withheld themselves at Ma'ān for two days consulting each other over the next step. Some said they should write to the Prophet ﷺ sending him the details of the strength of the enemy, and then follow his instructions. But 'Abdullah bin Rawāhah encouraged them by saying, "People. The thing you are fearful of is the thing you came out for: martyrdom. We do not fight on the strength of our numbers nor on the strength of the arms. We fight not, but on the strength of this religion that Allāh has honored us with. Therefore, march forward with one of the two good ends as your objective: victory or martyrdom." The people said, "Ibn Rawāhah spoke the truth." So they marched up until they were at the boundaries of Balqa'. There they encountered the massive Roman and Arab army led by Heraclius near a village called Mashārif. When the enemies came closer, the Muslims retired to Mu'tah, another village. They appointed Qutbah bin Qatādah 'Udhri on the right wing and 'Ubādah bin Mālik Ansāri on the left wing. As the battle began, Zayd was martyred. Ja'far took over. He jumped down from his horse, hamstrung it and fought until he too was martyred while reciting the poetical piece:

"Welcome to Paradise so near
Sweet and cool to drink its cheer
Romans will soon have much to fear
Infidels, of descent unclear
When we meet, their necks I'll shear."[9]

(Translation by A. Guillaume)

Ibn Hishām[10] relates that Ja'far held the flag by his right hand until it was severed. Then he held it by his left hand until it was severed. Then he held it between his shoulders until he was killed. He was then thirty-three. Allāh (ﷻ) rewarded him with two wings

[9] Ibid, pp. 26-30. As for Ja'far's slaughter of his horse called Shaqra' or his poetry, this has been reported by him through an unbroken chain and *Hasan*, p. 30. Ibn Sa'd reported (2/128-129) a part of it, *Mu'allaq*, but Wāqidi (2/756-761) brought it full through his own channels. As regards the tribes Balqayn and Bahra', mentioned in this context, they were offshoots of Banu Qudā'ah. See also *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/139).
[10] See *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (4/31) through a *Munqati'* and therefore, weak chain.

in Paradise, allowing him to fly about as he wished.[11]

Ibn Hishām[12] also wrote: "It is said that after he fell, one of the Roman soldiers struck him hard at the waist and cut him in two." Wāqidi[13] and Ibn Sa'd[14] have recorded several reports detailing the state in which Ja'far was found after his martyrdom. It is said that in one half of his body they found thirty wounds, while in the other, a few more than thirty. According to another report they found sixty wounds on his body. *Sahih*[15] report says that they found more than ninety wounds on his body.

Ibn Ishāq[16] and others report that when Ja'far was killed, Ibn Rawāhah took over. He headed towards the enemy on his horse singing a poetical piece. It said,

"I swear, my soul, you shall come to battle;
You shall fight or be made to fight.
Though men shout and scream aloud,
Why should you spurn Paradise?

[11] The basis of this report is in Haythami's *Al-Majma'* (9/272-273) being a tradition of Ibn 'Abbās. He said there that it was recorded in Tabarāni's work through two chains. One of them is of *Hasan* status. It is in words that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Allāh has changed his hands into two wings with which he flies about in Paradise, wherever he wishes." And Ibn Hajar reported in *Al-Fath* (14/222 explanation of H. 3709) that Tabārani has recorded through 'Abdullah bin Ja'far through a *Hasan* chain that the Prophet ﷺ told him, "Be of good cheer. Your father is flying about along with the angels in the heaven." But what strengthens more is the report in *Al-Bukhāri* which says that whenever Ibn 'Umar greeted Ibn Ja'far, he would say, "Greetings of peace be on you, O son of *Dhul-Janāhayn* (of two wings)." *Al-Fath* (16/103/H. 4262).

Ibn Hajar has other reports of the same meaning of which some are authentic, some weak, but which gains strength from others. See *Ibn Hajar* (14/222).

[12] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/31).

[13] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/761) through his own weak chains.

[14] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/129) a *Mu'allaq* report.

[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/99/H. 4261).

[16] *Ibn Hishām* (4/31-32) through a *Hasan* chain. Of those who also recorded: Sa'eed bin Mansur in his *Sunan* through a *Munqati'* chain, see Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/98/The Book of *Maghāzi*/commentary on H. 4261).

Long have you been at ease,
You are nothing but a drop in a worn out skin."

He also said,

"O my soul, if you are not killed, you will still die
Here is the death's call, you are already trapped
You did not wish but you were given
If you did as the two did, you will be guided."[17]

As he was about to enter into the battle, his cousin brought him a piece of bone with some flesh on it and told him to strengthen himself since he hadn't eaten anything that day. As he snapped a little of it he heard sounds of confusion originating from the forces. He said, "Are you still in the world!?" Then he threw away the bone, took his sword and fought until he was killed and obtained the martyrdom that he had desired.

His attitude towards *Jihād* was clear from the beginning: he encouraged the people to fight despite their small number and he sang out poetry expressing the desire to enter Paradise. We also have evidence from Zayd bin Arqam who was in the same tent as he was, and heard him sing poetry in praise of martyrdom. When Zayd cried, 'Abdullah hit him with his whip. He said, 'What's your problem, O lover of this world, that I should be martyred but you should return with the army?'"[18]

After him Thābit bin Aqram took over the flag. He asked the Muslims to choose a leader for themselves. They suggested his name. But he refused. So they agreed upon Khālid bin Walid. He took over and helped them withdraw from the battlefield.[19]

It is said that after Ibn Rawāhah was killed, Khālid spent the night considering the next move. In the morning he changed the positions: those that were in the front were sent to the rear, those

[17] He is referring to his two companions: Zayd and Ja'far.

[18] Ibn Ishāq recorded through a *Munqati'* chain, for 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr did not name the person who narrated to him from Zayd bin Arqam—*Ibn Hishām* (4/28-29).

[19] Up to this point, it is a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

that were in the rear were brought forward, those at left he sent to the right and those at right he sent to the left. When the enemy saw different faces, and not those they were familiar with, they thought that the Muslims had received fresh forces. That drove fear into them and they were defeated. The Muslims killed as many as they had never done before.[20] It is said that no less than nine swords broke in the hands of Khālid bin Walid.[21] This leads us to conclude that some fighting surely took place before the Muslims withdrew.

What further confirms fighting under Khālid before the Muslims[22] withdrew is a report in *Muslim* and others which records 'Awf bin Mālik as saying that a man from Yemen accompanied him to the expedition. He killed a Roman soldier and took away his belongings for himself. But Khālid thought that the things were too valuable for him. So the Yemeni complained to the Prophet ﷺ.

A miracle that appeared was that the Prophet ﷺ announced the death of Zayd, Ja'far and Ibn Rawāhah with tears streaming from his eyes. He informed his Companions that Khālid had taken over and gave them the good news of victory at his hand. He named him 'Allāh's Sword'.[23] He said those things while the battle was still raging a thousand miles away. The Prophet ﷺ was truly aggrieved by their death.[24] Subsequently, Ya'la bin Umaiyah appeared and confirmed the news as given by the Prophet ﷺ.[25] According to another report, it was 'Āmir Ash'ari who brought the news to Madinah.[26]

Nevertheless, despite the loss of a few dear ones in this expedition, and notwithstanding the number of the enemy, no more than twelve Muslims were martyred.[27] As regards the enemy, it is

[20] *Al-Wāqidi* (3/764), and very weak for he was abandoned.
[21] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/104/H. 4265-4266).
[22] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1373-1374/H. 1753).
[23] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/100/H. 4262) and (11/277/H. 2798), and Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/40-41) being a report of Abu Qatādah.
[24] A tradition that Bukhāri collected as in *Al-Fath* (16/101/H. 6263).
[25] A narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah to be found in Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah* (4/275) as well as in Ibn Hajar's *Al-Fath* (16/101/in explanation of H. 4262).
[26] Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/101), being a narration of Tabarāni.
[27] Ibn Ishāq recorded, as a *Mu'allaq* report, the names of the ten of them with

not known how many were killed. But it was certainly a large number.

The Mu'tah martyrs occupied a high place before Allāh. The Prophet ﷺ said, "I wouldn't be happier – or he said, "they wouldn't be happier" – if they were with us now."[28]

As regards Ibn Ishāq's[29] report that the people taunted the participants at Mu'tah as those who had fled from Allāh's path, Ibn Kathir[30] explains: "I believe Ibn Ishāq was mistaken in his interpretation. It seems those who fled, did so during the first phase of the battle. The great majority did not flee; indeed, they were victorious as confirmed by the Prophet's statement in the pulpit: "... then a sword from the swords of Allāh took charge of the command and Allāh bestowed victory on his hand." Thereafter, the Muslims stopped referring to them as those who had fled. Rather, they honored and respected them. It was only a few that had fled, one of whom was 'Abdullah bin 'Umar, and it were they alone that were criticized."

Ibn Kathir follows up with several evidences to show that the great majority of the Muslims did not flee, rather, a few of them did so. One of them is contained in the *Hadith* recorded in *Ahmad*,[31] narrated by 'Abdullah bin 'Umar ؓ, which speaks of those who fled and were fearful of their lives when they entered into Madinah. They wished to mount a boat and escape to another land. Finally, they decided to present themselves to the Prophet ﷺ and accept his decision about them. But when they went and admitted their error,

two of whom Ibn Hishām agreed—*Ibn Hishām* (4/44-45) *Mu'allaq*; while Wāqidi mentioned eight: *Al-Maghāzi* (2/769).
[28] See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/152/H. 3063).
[29] Through a *Mursal* chain reaching up to 'Urwah, but weak—*Ibn Hishām* (4/37). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/276): "This report is *Mursal* by this route and it carries some strangeness."
[30] *Al-Bidāyah* (4/276).
[31] *Al-Musnad* (7/H. 5384/Shākir), which Shākir treated as authentic. And Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/277): "Tirmidhi and Ibn Mājah documented it as a report coming from Yazid bin Abu Ziyād about which Tirmidhi said: "A *Hasan* narrative that we have not known through any other source except this."

he said, "Rather, you are of those who sought refuge. I am the main party, and I am the main party of the Muslims (in whom Muslims should take refuge)." According to another report he said, "Rather you are those who returned (and not fled)."

Ja'far's sons were brought to him. The Prophet ﷺ consoled them and ordered that their heads be shaved. He also supplicated for them and when their mother came to remind him of their orphanhood, he remarked, "Are you afraid of poverty? Well, I am their custodian in this world and the next."[32]

When news of Ja'far's death came, the Prophet ﷺ said, "Prepare food for Ja'far's family, for something has happened that will engage them," or, "some affair has appeared that will engage them."[33]

Lessons, Rules

1. In the Prophet's act of appointing three commanders over the Mu'tah army is the proof that leaders can be provisionally and conditionally appointed and that several leaders may be named, to follow in succession.

2. The Prophet's announcement of the death of the three commanders, before the news actually came, shows that such announcement is not disallowed. In his case it was not of the prohibited type since it was in fact a proof of his prophethood.

3. The appointment of Khālid bin Walid after the martyrdom of the three commanders, is evidential that *iJtihād* (independent reasoning) was permissible during the time of the Prophet ﷺ himself.

4. The Prophet's grief over the death of the three commanders speaks loudly of his love of his Companions. It does not contradict submission to Allāh's Will and gallant acceptance of His Decree. It also tells us that one's grief over what happens to him does not mean he lacks fortitude: so long as his heart is not a complaining one. Indeed, it is said that one who feels the pain of events, and then observes patience is better than one who does not feel the pain at all.[34]

5. The Muslims learnt a lot from this first encounter with the Romans. The experience helped them in future battles. They learnt for instance, the numbers the enemy was capable of raising; the type of armament they could be using, how they planned a battle, what were the geographical conditions of the area of their control and what were the weather conditions of their lands, etc.[35]

6. The stand taken by the three commanders speaks of the strength of faith of the Companions in general that led them into the battlefields without any fear.

[32] Ahmad's report in *Musnad* (3/192-194/H. 1750/Shākir) which Shākir treated authentic.

[33] *Al-Musnad* (3/194/H. 1751/Shākir) which Shākir gave the *Sahih* status and in *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* by Albāni (1/268) which Albāni declared *Hasan*.

[34] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/100/commentary of H. 4262).

[35] See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni, Jihād*, p. 168.

Expeditions between the Mu'tah Campaign and Fall of Makkah

The Dhatus-Salāsil Expedition

It was not many a days after the return of the forces from Mu'tah, in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah of the eighth year after *Hijrah*[1] that the Prophet ﷺ heard that the Qudā'ah had begun to assemble forces to organize attack on Madinah. He sent for 'Amr bin 'Ās. When he came he told him, "...I would like you to head a squadron. May Allāh keep you safe and bestow on you booty. I wish you wholesome wealth." 'Amr replied, "O Messenger of Allāh. I didn't embrace Islam for money. I did so because I was attracted by Islam, and because I wished to be in the company of the Messenger of Allāh." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "'Amr, wealth is a good thing when in the hands of a pious man."[2] Then he sent him with 300 men of the *Muhājair* and the *Ansār* to destroy the tribe in its own territory. He also instructed him to seek the help of some of the Qudā'ah branches such as Baliyi, 'Udhrah and Balqayn against the enemy.

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[1] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/131) without a chain and so very weak.

[2] Reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/140-141) through a trustworthy line but *Mursal* by 'Āmir Sha'bi. One might look at who else documented it of those that Sā'āti mentioned. Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/196/explanation of H. 4358) about this *Hadith*: "Ahmad and Bukhāri (in *Adabul-Mufrad*) reported it and Abu 'Awānah declared it trustworthy, as did Ibn Hibbān and Hākim, recounting it through 'Ali bin Rabāh and 'Amr bin 'Ās." Then he reported the *Hadith* in words above.

'Amr's mother in fact was from the Baliyi clan. It was hoped that they would act softly towards 'Amr. When he had reached the waters of Judhām, known as Salsal, from which the name of this expedition is derived, he got wind of the enormous strength of the enemy. So he sent Rāfi' bin Makith the Juhani back to the Prophet ﷺ. He sent him another 80 men of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār* under the leadership of Abu 'Ubaydah 'Āmir bin Jarrah's leadership. Abu Bakr and 'Umar were among them. The Prophet ﷺ had asked 'Amr and Abu 'Ubaydah to yield to each other. Therefore, when 'Amr insisted on his own leadership in the prayers, Abu 'Ubaydah withdrew following the Prophet's behest.[3]

A report in Ahmad[4] says that the Prophet ﷺ gave Abu Ubaydah the leadership of the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār*, while 'Amr was to head the tribal Arabs. He had also ordered that Bakr be attacked. But 'Amr chose to attack Qudā'ah directly since the Bakr were related to him from his cousin's side. Abu 'Ubaydah once again obeyed him avoiding any dispute with him. However, this explanation by Sha'bi seems to be far-fetched.

'Amr kept moving until he entered into the Baliyi territory. Thereafter he crossed through the 'Udhrah and Balqayn territory to arrive at the farther end facing the enemy forces. The Muslims launched the attack on them and they fled. Thereafter they returned to Madinah.[5]

During the return journey 'Amr experienced a wet dream in a very cold night. He did not wash himself, rather wiped himself with dust drawing inspiration from the Verse,

The report about the dispatch of 'Amr bin 'Ās' at the head of Dhātus-Salāsil expedition is confirmed by the *Sahihayn* but without such details as found in the books of the war chroniclers and biographers. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/158/The Book of *Fadā'il*).

[3] See *Al-Wāqidi* (2/769-771) who quoted his own chains; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/131) *Mu'allaq*; Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (4/359-360) and *Maghāzi Rasulullah* ﷺ by 'Urwah, p. 207. However, all through weak chains.

[4] *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/139-140) being a *Mursal* report of Sha'bi, which is a weak chain, not worthy of consideration.

[5] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/131) *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/769-771).

﴿وَلَا تَقْتُلُوٓا أَنفُسَكُمْ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ كَانَ بِكُمْ رَحِيمًا﴾

"Do not kill yourselves. Surely, Allāh is very kind on you."[6]

Then he led the Muslims in the prayers. When the Prophet ﷺ heard of it, he did not say anything, granting it approval.[7]

Although it got very cold 'Amr ordered his men not to light the fire nor chase the enemy. Some Muslims didn't like it and complained to the Prophet ﷺ.[8] 'Amr explained to him that he had a small contingent under him and he did not wish to encourage the enemy by exposing their numbers by the lights of the fire. He added, "Also, I ordered them not to chase the enemy as I was afraid they would come out from their hiding positions and attack us from the rear." The Prophet ﷺ approved of his measures.

Note on This Expedition

1. In placing 'Amr رضي الله عنه over a squadron that included figures like Abu Bakr and 'Umar رضي الله عنهما is evidence that superior persons might be placed under an inferior, if the inferior commands some advantage.[9] 'Amr, after all, had a good fighting experience.

2. In 'Amr's example of avoiding usage of water is proof that when one is in fear of harming himself with cold water, he may

[6] *Surat An-Nisa'*: 29.

[7] Reported by *Abu Dāwud* (334, 335/The Book of *Tahārah*) which Albāni declared *Sahih*, as in *Sahih Sunan Abu Dāwud* (No. 360-361); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/402-403), and in his *Sunan* (1/225-226) about which the two verifiers of *Zādul-Ma'ād* said (3/388): "Its chain is Strong (*Qawi*)," which Bukhāri used in his *Sahih* (1/385), and Hāfiz and Ibn Hibbān declared *Qawi–Al-Mawārid*, p. 202, and Hākim declared *Sahih* in his *Al-Mustadrak* (1/177), with Dhahabi agreeing with him, but Mundhiri thought it *Hasan*; and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/203) through a line in which falls Ibn Lahiy'ah. See also *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/235).

[8] Reported by Ibn 'Asākir in *Tārikh Dimashq* (13/254), and Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/195/explanation of H. 3663).

[9] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/196/commentary on H. 4358).

resort to wiping in lieu of washing.

3. Someone who has wiped himself can lead in prayers those who have washed themselves.

4. It also proves the validity of working out legal opinions even during the time of the Prophet ﷺ as did 'Amr, replacing washing with wiping following his personal understanding.[10]

Abu Hadrad's Expedition towards Ghābah

The Prophet ﷺ received news that a man called Qays bin Rifā'ah or Rifā'ah bin Qays was advancing with a substantial force in command, and had reached the Ghābah area. He was trying to recruit the Qays tribe to launch an attack on Madinah. He was a man of great influence among the Jusham tribe. The Prophet ﷺ asked 'Abdullah bin Hadrad along with two other men to go after him. Ibn Hadard managed to overpower and kill Rifā'ah bin Qays and his men fled. The Muslims managed to capture some women, children and a large number of camels and goats. He went to the Prophet ﷺ and presented the booty and Rifā'ah's head. He gave him thirteen camels out of the booty.[11]

Tabari[12] has said that this expedition took place in Sha'bān of

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[10] See *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/388-389).

[11] Ibn Ishāq reported it as in Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah* (4/249-250) but through a weak chain, for there falls in it Ja'far bin 'Abdullah bin Aslam who did not emphatically say that he heard it from Abu Hadard. Nevertheless he is acceptable, as noted Ibn Hajar, i.e., when he has supporting evidences in his favor otherwise he is weak. At this point he has no supportive evidences, and hence considered weak of chain.

It was also reported by Ibn Hishām in the *Sirat* (4/367-369) as a narrative originating with Ibn Ishāq, wherein Ibn Ishāq did not name whom he heard it from. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ahmad (6/11-12) through a non-Ibn Ishāq chain; Haythami in *Al-Majma'* (6/207) who said, "One of the narrators has not been named, otherwise the chain is of the reliable ones;" *Al-Wāqidi* (2/777) and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (4/303-304) through Ibn Ishāq as pointed out by *Al-Bidāyah* of Ibn Kathir.

[12] Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/34) a *Mu'allaq* and therefore weak report.

the 8th year AH. However, he mentions that Abu Qatādah headed this expedition.

Abu Qatādah's Expedition to the Valley of Idam[13]

The Prophet ﷺ sent some men to Idam. Abu Qatādah, Muhallim bin Jaththāmah bin Qays were the participants. As they were in the valley of the Idam, 'Āmir bin Adbat the Ashja'i passed by them and greeted them with the Islamic greeting. Others spared him but Muhallim attacked and killed him because of a dispute that had taken place between them. After killing him he seized his camel and belongings. It is said that it was in reference to this incident that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the following Verse that said,

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓا۟ إِذَا ضَرَبْتُمْ فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ فَتَبَيَّنُوا۟ وَلَا تَقُولُوا۟ لِمَنْ أَلْقَىٰٓ إِلَيْكُمُ ٱلسَّلَٰمَ لَسْتَ مُؤْمِنًا تَبْتَغُونَ عَرَضَ ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا...﴾

"O Muslims, when you go out in an expedition, investigate and do not say unto him who salutes you with the Islamic salutation that you are not a believer, seeking the fortune of this world..."[14,15]

It is also said that the Prophet ﷺ refused to pray for Muhallam's forgiveness when he requested him at the time he was in Hunayn.[16]

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[13] Idam was a valley wherein met other valleys of Madinah. Some said it was a watering place between Makkah and Yamāmah near Saminah (*Mu'jamul-Buldān*, 1/281). Yet others said it was is a valley that crossed Hijāz passing by Madinah and ending in the sea. It was an area for Ashja' and Juhaynah. Ibn Sa'd said in *At-Tabaqāt* (3/179) that it was a place that lay twenty-four miles away from Madinah between Dhu Khashab and Dhu Marwah.

[14] *Surat Al-Nisa'*: 94.

[15] One of Ibn Ishāq's reports through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/363-364) and which *Al-Wāqidi* (2/797) has with a complete chain; *Ibn Sa'd* (2/133) *Mu'allaq*—mentioned that the head of the expedition was Abu Qatādah bin Rib'i Ansāri. This is an implication in the narrative of Ibn Ishāq. Tabari reported a part of it in his *Tafsir* (9/72/Shākir), through a complete chain but with an *'an'anah* (so-and-so) of Ibn Ishāq.

[16] Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/365-366), and Tabari in

It is reported that when he died after seven days and they buried him, the earth refused to accept him and threw him out twice. Finally, his people placed his body between two hills and threw stones over him. When the Prophet ﷺ came to know he remarked, "By Allāh. The earth accepts those who are more evil. But Allāh wished to teach you a lesson about the sanctity of your men."[17]

On the other hand, the Traditionists have mentioned several other causes for the revelation of the Verse cited above. Bukhāri[18] has reported that it was revealed in connection with two Muslims by whom a man passed, saluting them with Islamic salutation but they killed him and took away his possessions. Ahmad,[19] Tirmidhi[20] and Hākim[21] have reported in similar words.

Bazzār[22] however reports the opinion of Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ that it was revealed in reference to Miqdād bin Aswad. He was sent in an expedition. The enemy dispersed. One of them remained behind with a good amount of wealth on him. He uttered the testimony. But Miqdād killed him. The Prophet ﷺ told Miqdād, "He was a

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his *Tafsir* (9/72/Shākir) through a complete chain of transmitters but which has an *'an'anah* (so-and-so) of Ibn Isḥāq.

17 Reported by Tabari in his *Tafsir* (9/72/Shākir), through a complete chain of transmitters but which has an *'an'anah* (so-and-so) of Ibn Isḥāq. It was also reported by Ibn Isḥāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/366) through a *Mursal* report but weak because he did not name whom he heard from preferring to halt the chain at 'Ali Basri, through a source other than that of Ibn Isḥāq. And, there has been some difference in opinion over the traditions reported by Ibn Isḥāq.

The *Hadith* was also reported by Musa bin 'Uqbah who traced it through Zuhri and Shu'ayb through Zuhri, through a complete chain up to Qabisah bin Dhuwayb, one of the offspring of the Companions, who had seen the Prophet ﷺ except that he did not name either Muhallim nor 'Āmir—*Ibn Kathir* (4/252).

18 *Al-Fath* (17/125/H. 4591).

19 *Al-Musnad* (4/153/Shākir), through an authentic line.

20 *Sunan* (*Tuhfatul-Ahwadhi*, 8/386) through a *Hasan* chain. See it in *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/40/H. 2426), and which Albani declared authentic.

21 *Al-Mustadrak* (2/235) and judged it *Sahih*.

22 Quoted by Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (2/338).

believer among the disbelievers, concealing his faith. He announced it out to you but you killed him. That is how once you were, concealing your faith in Makkah."

Because of the numerousness of the reports, one can deduce that this kind of incident took place several times. The Verse in question was referring to all of them.[23]

This expedition took place in Ramadān of the 8th year AH.[24]

Wāqidi[25] mentions the following as the cause of this expedition. When the Prophet ﷺ decided to organize an attack on Makkah, he sent Abu Qatādah along with eight men to the valley of Idam to mislead the people that he (the Prophet ﷺ) was preparing to march in that direction rather than in the direction of Makkah.

Lesson

In the Prophet's words to Miqdād, viz., "That is how once you were, concealing your faith in Makkah," is a good reminder that when a man gathers strength, he should not forget the past days of weakness. If he did that, it would lead him to pride and arrogance.[26]

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23 See: *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/338) footnotes of the redactors.

24 Originally a narration of *Ibn Sa'd* (2/133) without a chain, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/797) with a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain. Of those things that confirm this date is that Aqra' bin Hābis and 'Uyaynah bin Hisn disputed over 'Āmir bin Adbat before the Prophet ﷺ while he was in Hunayn. 'Uyaynah was demanding the life of 'Āmir. Those days he was the chief of the Ghatafān. Ibn Hābis on the other hand was arguing in favor of Muhallim because of his position among the Khandaf. Finally, 'Uyaynah accepted blood money on condition that he would pay one half then in that journey while the rest when they return. Ibn Isḥāq recorded this through a *Hasan* report—*Ibn Hishām* (4/364-365). Also see *Al-Isābah* (2/292).

25 *Al-Maghāzi* (2/796-97).

26 See the foot notes of the two verifiers of *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (2/338).

Fall of Makkah

One of the articles of the Hudaybiyah treaty said that whoever wished to enter into an alliance with the Prophet ﷺ could, and whoever wished to join up with the Quraysh could do it. Accordingly, the Khuzā'ah tribe entered into a league with the Prophet ﷺ. On the other hand, Banu Bakr teamed up with the Quraysh. Everyone remained true to the treaty for seventeen or eighteen months. Then, one night, Banu Bakr attacked Khuza'ah at the Watir waters, a place close to Makkah. Quraysh thought that because of the darkness of the night, the Prophet ﷺ wouldn't know about their role, and helped Bakr in their onslaught on Khuzā'ah with provision and arms. In fact, some of them took part in the fighting. Khuzā'ah applied to the Muslims and sent 'Amr bin Sālim Khuzā'i to Madinah. He recited a piece of poetry before the Prophet ﷺ seeking his help. The Prophet ﷺ said, "You will be helped, O 'Amr bin Sālim." It was not long before a piece of cloud passed over their heads. The Prophet ﷺ told them, "This cloud will make it easy for Banu Ka'b to be helped."[1]

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[1] Reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain; and its narrators are of the *Sahih* except for Ibn Ishāq who was known for not naming his immediate narrator– Truncated (*Mudallas*). See Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/309-310) who has two weak supporting reports. One of them is in *Al-Mu'jam As-Saghir* of Tabarāni (2/73), and the other in the *Musnad* of Abu Ya'la (4/400). Bazzār reported through a *Hasan* chain in *Kashful-Astār*, p. 342, through a complete chain, some of the poetical lines that the leader of the Khuzā'ah said before the Prophet ﷺ; *Al-Fath* by Ibn Hajar: (16/108);

Ibn Ishāq[2] adds that Banu Bakr chased the Khuzā'ah right into the Holy House and killed them there. Some twenty of them lost their lives.[3]

Musa bin 'Uqbah[4] has stated that those of the Quraysh who helped Banu Bakr were prominent men such as Safwān bin Umaiyah, Shaybah bin 'Uthmān and Suhayl bin 'Amr. They also helped them with arms and foodstuff.

Reports in Ibn Hajar[5] lead us to believe[6] that the Prophet ﷺ sent word to the Quraysh to choose between paying blood money, break their treaty with Banu Bakr or accept to fight. The Quraysh chose to fight.

However, in the days that followed, the Quraysh felt sorry for having broken the Hudaybiyah treaty. They sent Abu Sufyān to Madinah to work out a fresh treaty.[7] But what is popularly reported is that the Quraysh felt sorry immediate to the event and sent Abu Sufyān to Madinah hoping to see the Prophet ﷺ before he got the news of their involvement. In either case, Abu Sufyān did not go directly to the Prophet ﷺ. He first met Abu Bakr, then 'Umar, then

Ibn Abu Shaybah, *Mursal*; Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/108), and 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/374) with minor variations, but through trustworthy narrators. It does not have the above-mentioned poetical verses.

2 *Ibn Hishām* (4/64), Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

3 Al-Wāqidi (2/784) via a very weak line, for it is *Mursal* and in its chain falls 'Abdullah bin 'Āmir Aslami who was weak, and, finally, Wāqidi had been abandoned.

4 Reported by Musa bin 'Uqbah without a chain as in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/313) by Ibn Kathir and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/108). And the report is not attributed to anyone.

5 Ibn Hajar (4/243-244). The verifier Habibur-Rahmān A'zami said: "This tradition is *Mursal* of authentic chain."

6 *Al-Fath* (4/114/commentary on H. 4280) being a narration by Muhammad bin 'Ā'idh of Dimashq quoting the *Hadith* of 'Abdullah bin 'Umar. Wāqidi reported it through a very weak chain when they attribute it to Ibn 'Umar ؓ. This is because of the weakness in Wāqidi and the brokenness of his chain (*Al-Maghāzi*, 2/786). And, Wāqidi and Ibn 'Ā'idh said that the name of the man sent to Quraysh was Damrah.

7 A narrative of Ibn 'Ā'idh: Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/114) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/6786-6787).

Fātimah and finally 'Ali. But they all refused to intervene. In fact, 'Umar treated him very harshly. So Abu Sufyān returned to Makkah unsuccessful.[8]

When Abu Sufyān reached Madinah, he first went to his daughter Umm Habibah, a wife of the Prophet ﷺ. When he tried to sit on the Prophet's bed, she pulled it off and folded it away. He said, "My daughter. I don't know if you don't think this bed worthy of me, or me unworthy of it." She replied, "It is the Prophet's bed and you are a polytheist, an unclean person." He said, "By God. Evil has touched you after you left me." Then he left her and went up to speak to the Prophet ﷺ. But he did not say anything in reply.[9]

The Prophet ﷺ ordered his wives to prepare for his journey without spelling out the direction of his journey. However, later he told them that he intended Makkah. He told them to prepare themselves well and prayed, "O Allāh, seize the spies and withhold the news from the Quraysh until You have destroyed them in their own habitation." So the people began to prepare. Hassān said some poetical pieces, encouraging the people and mentioning the Khuzā'ah loss.[10]

8 One of the *Mursal* reports of 'Ikrimah in the record of Ibn Abu Shaybah as mentioned by Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/144), and reported by Ibn Ishāq: once *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/55-56) and another time *Munqati'*—Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/313-314). It appears to us that it is a part of a longer report by Hasan describing how Makkah was subdued being in the original a narrative of Miswar bin Makhramah and Marwān bin Hakam.

Musa bin 'Uqbah also reported it through a chain stopping at him—Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/313-314); Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (5/9-11) and in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/120); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/794) through a very weak chain for he truncated and in it falls Ibn Abu Habibah, who was weak, and Wāqidi himself abandoned; Ibn 'Ā'idh, *Mu'allaq* as in Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/114); 'Urwah through a *Mursal* report which stops at him, and it has Ibn Lahiy'ah; Bayhaqi: *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/120); 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/375) through a reliable chain, reporting in connection with another *Hadith* dealing in detail with the fall of Makkah.

In short, the report is authentic through 'Abdur-Razzāq and Ibn Ishāq, and because of the various narrations mentioned at this point.

9 Being a long narrative of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain describing the fall of Makkah—*Ibn Hishām* (4/55) and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/792-793).

10 Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain on the authority of Muhammad bin Ja'far

The Prophet ﷺ also ordered the tribes around Madinah to accompany him, such as, Sulaym, Ashja', Muzaynah, Aslam and Ghifār. Some of them joined him when he was in Madinah, others caught up with him on the way, until their number swelled to 10,000.[11] None of the *Muhājir* and the *Ansār* stayed back.

Muzaynah sent a thousand men while the Sulaym tribe seven hundred.[12]

While the Prophet ﷺ was preparing himself, Hātib bin Abu Balta'ah sent a letter by the hand of a woman to the Makkan pagans warning them of the Prophet's imminent action. The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Ali, Zubayr and Miqdād in her pursuit. He told them, "Go up to Khākh orchard. You will find an old woman there. She has a letter, seize it." When they reached the place they found her there and asked her to hand over the letter to them. She denied having any such letter. They threatened her, "Either you hand it over, or we will undress you." So she brought out the letter. The Prophet ﷺ asked Hātib to appear and when he came in he asked, "What is this, Hātib?" He replied, "O Messenger of Allāh, don't be hasty with me. I was allied to the Quraysh, although not one of them. The other immigrants here have some relative or other, up there in Makkah, to prevent any harm to their families and property. I thought that in absence of my relationship with them, I should do something that'll soften them towards my kin. I have not done this as an apostate, nor do I have anything to do with disbelief after Islam." The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "He has spoken the truth." 'Umar ﷺ however said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Allow me to behead this hypocrite." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "He participated in the Badr battle. And how do you know that maybe Allāh knows about those who participated at

through 'Urwah and 'Āishah ﷺ—Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidayah wan-Nihāyah* 94/3150 through a *Hasan* chain too being a narrative of Zuhri, through 'Urwah, through Miswar and Marwan, as it appears to us—*Ibn Hishām* (4/56-57).

[11] A tradition documented by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/111/H. 4276) and Ibn Ishāq with a chain described as *Hasan li Dhātihi*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/60); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/801) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/135).

[12] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/60).

Badr. He said about them, 'Do as you wish. I have forgiven you.'" Then Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the Verses,

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ لَا تَتَّخِذُوا۟ عَدُوِّى وَعَدُوَّكُمْ أَوْلِيَآءَ تُلْقُونَ إِلَيْهِم بِٱلْمَوَدَّةِ وَقَدْ كَفَرُوا۟ بِمَا جَآءَكُم مِّنَ ٱلْحَقِّ﴾ إلى قوله ﴿فَقَدْ ضَلَّ سَوَآءَ ٱلسَّبِيلِ﴾

'O believers. Do not take My enemy and your enemy as friends, demonstrating love towards them while they disbelieve in the truth that has come to you..' until the words, "*surely, he lost the path.*"[13, 14]

According to one report, 'Umar's eyes flowed with tears. He said, "Allāh and His Messenger know best."[15] The woman's name was Umm Sārah, Kanud Muzaniyyah.[16]

The Prophet ﷺ left Makkah in Ramadān of the 8th year AH. They were fasting. They remained in that state until Kudayd.[17] There the Prophet ﷺ broke his fast and so did the others.[18]

Most biographers are of the opinion that he left on the tenth of Ramādan, entering into Makkah nineteen days of the month

[13] *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 1.

[14] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/109-110/H. 4274), *Muslim* (4/1941-1942/H. 2494).

[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/172/H. 3983).

[16] Ibn Ishāq mentioned that his Shaykh thought that the woman was from Muzaynah while a few other than him thought that her name was Sārah—*Ibn Hishām* (4/85) through a chain *Hasan li Dhātihi*. Wāqidi's report says her name was Sārah of Muzaynah while in a second report she was Kanud—*Maghāzi* (2/798-799). It is also said that her name was Umm Sārah. This was reported by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/333) being originally from Bayhaqi, in whose chain falls Hakam bin 'Abdul-Malik who was weak and did not mention Hātib.

[17] This was a running spring that lay 86 km away from Makkah, and 301 km away from Madinah, between 'Usfān and Qudayd as in *Sahih Al-Bukhāri: Al-Fath* (16/111/H. 4275). This *Hādith* was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain who said that it lies between 'Usfān and Amaj—*Ibn Hishām* (4/600). Ibn Qayyim said in *Zādul-Mā'ad* (3/400): "This is the place that is now referred to as Qudayd."

[18] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (6/100-111/H. 4275), *Muslim* (2/784/H. 1113). According to a narration in *Muslim* (2/H. 1114) the breaking of the fast was at Kura' Al-Ghamim, and according to another narration (2/113) it was at 'Usfān, Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/60).

remaining.[19] They disagreed over the day of victory. Their dates vary between 12th, 13th, 16th, 17th, 18th and 19th of Ramadān. However, there is no difference in the opinion that Makkah fell in Ramadān of the 8th year AH. Muslim also has reports confirming this.[20]

The Prophet ﷺ had appointed Abu Ruhm, Kulthum bin Husayn bin 'Utbah bin Khalaf Ghifāri as his deputy at Madinah.[21]

Before he could enter Makkah, a few of the Makkan chiefs presented themselves to him and embraced Islam, such as, his cousin and foster brother Abu Sufyān bin Hārith bin 'Abdul-Muttalib. He arrived when the Prophet ﷺ was in Abwa'. 'Abdullah bin Abu Umaiyah bin Mughirah also met him and embraced Islam between Suqya and 'Arj. The two were sworn enemies of Islam, especially Abu Sufyān who had opposed Islam tooth and nail for twenty long years, leading the Quraysh in every battle fought. However, when he embraced Islam, it was in right earnest. He displayed his valor in defense of the Prophet ﷺ at Hunayn when the rest fled. He remained by the side of the Prophet ﷺ, unshaken in his resolve.[22] We will have more to speek of this later. As for 'Abdullah bin Umaiyah, he was the brother of the Prophet's wife Umm Salamah ؓ from the father's side. He too proved himself true, and attained martyrdom in the battle of Tā'if.[23]

Somewhere on the way, the Prophet's uncle 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib[24] also met him. Ibn Hishām[25] says it was at Juhfah that he

[19] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/60); *Al-Wāqidi* (2/801); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/135). Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd added that they left on Wednesday. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (9/6/explanation of H. 1944).

[20] See it in *Sahih Muslim* (2/H. 113, 116), and in a narration by Ibn Sa'd that it was on the tenth of Ramadān.

[21] Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/61), and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/135), *Mu'allaq,* to the effect that he left 'Abdullah bin Umm Maktum in charge.

[22] Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/61). This *Hadith* was also reported by Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/114-115); *Al-Hākim* (3/43-45) who did declared it trustworthy with Dhahabi's agreement; Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/27-28) and Tabarāni as in *Al-Majmā'* (6/164-167).

[23] Ibn 'Abdul-Barr: *Al-Isti'āb* (2/263).

[24] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/60).

[25] *Ibn Hisham* (4/61), having taken it from Zuhri, *Mu'allaq.*

met him. He was then in his emigration journey to Madinah accompanied by his family.

Some have said that 'Abbās ؓ embraced Islam at Badr.[26] In fact, some others have stated that he had embraced Islam even before the Prophet's migration to Madinah.[27]

Ibn Hajar[28] wrote: "Most reports say that he embraced Islam just before the fall of Makkah. That is, when the Prophet ﷺ was entering it victorious. Some have said that he embraced Islam earlier, and that is possible. Hajjāj bin Ilāt's report strengthens it." Hajjāj's report says that when 'Abbās heard the report of the Prophet's defeat at Khayber, and his imprisonment, he collapsed and could not rise up on his feet out of grief. He took his son Qutham, who resembled the Prophet ﷺ, stretched himself and placing him on his breast said, "My dearest resembles in his nose the Prophet of the Bestower, it making no difference who disapproves of it." Then he sent a slave to Hajjāj seeking confirmation. He in turn confided to him that it was all a hoax. When the slave came back with the good news, 'Abbās jumped to his feet, kissed him on the forehead and freed him. When other Muslims came up to him he gave them the news, and everyone was swept by joy.[29]

Ibn 'Abdul-Barr[30] is very sure 'Abbās ؓ embraced Islam before the fall of Khayber. Of course, he relies on Hajjāj's story.

[26] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/10) in whose chain appears Husayn bin 'Abdullah Hāshmi who was weak, and (4/11) in which chain falls Wāqidi and Ibn Abu Sabrah both not accepted.

[27] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/31) through a *Munqati'* chain in which is Wāqidi and Ibn Abu Habibah, who was weak.

[28] *Al-Fath* (14/223/H. 3710).

[29] See this incidence with 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/466-469); Ahmad in his *Musnad* (3/138) or *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/122) coming through 'Abdur-Razzāq and Ibn Hibbān in *Al-Mawrid*, p. 413; Bazzār in *Kashf* (2/341) and others. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/242): "This chain meets with the conditions set by the *Shaykhayn* but it was not documented by either Ahmad or the six canonical works except Nasa'i, tracing it through Ishāq bin Ibrāhim, he through 'Abdur-Razzāq, in similar words."

[30] *Al-Isti'āb* (3/95) which is also in the footnotes of Ibn Hajar's *Al-Isābah.*

Ibn Hajar[31] adds, showing his preference to his Islam before the fall of Makkah, "...As for Abu Rāfi'''s words in reference to the battle of Badr, viz., 'Islam entered into our homes but nothing indicated that 'Abbās had become a Muslim. He was taken a prisoner at Badr and freed himself as well as his nephew 'Aqil bin Abu Tālib. Nevertheless, since he hadn't migrated before the fall of Makkah, 'Umar did not give him a place among the Consultative Council despite his wide knowledge, and despite the fact that he sought rains using him as the means of access to Allāh (ﷻ).' I am inclined to Ibn 'Abdur-Rahmān's opinion that 'Abbās embraced Islam before the fall of Khayber. He used to conceal his faith following the Prophet's advice: for several advantages including passing on news of the Quraysh.

The various Muslim squadrons merged to become one army by the time they reached Marr Az-Zahrān, a place between Makkah and Madinah. The Quraysh had not received the news. However, they were fearful of something happening after the failure of Abu Sufyān's trip. So they sent Abu Sufyān, Hakim bin Hizām and Budayl bin Warqa' to spy on the Prophet ﷺ. They met 'Abbās who was riding the Prophet's mule. He was wishing to inform the Quraysh to seek a treaty with the Prophet ﷺ before he entered into Makkah. The three were then discussing among themselves the numbers that were with the Prophet ﷺ, impressed by the number of fires they saw. Budayl thought they were the Khuzā'ah tribesmen that had encamped there. Abu Sufyān disagreed and 'Abbās told them that they were Muslims. Abu Sufyān agreed with his assessment and pushed forward on his mule. When 'Umar spotted him, he wanted to kill him instantly, but the Prophet ﷺ intervened. When 'Abbās presented Abu Sufyān to the Prophet, he spent a lot of time with him inviting him to Islam. But Abu Sufyān was wavering. So the Prophet ﷺ instructed 'Abbās to bring him back the next morning.

Next morning, Abu Sufyān embraced Islam after some hesitation. 'Abbās suggested to the Prophet ﷺ a measure that would appease Abu Sufyān's self-conceit. The Prophet ﷺ agreed

[31] *Al-Fath* (14/223).

and announced, "Whoever entered into Abu Sufyān's quarters will be in peace..."

The Prophet ﷺ asked 'Abbās to make him witness the Muslim forces as they marched through a narrow gorge of a mountain at Marr Az-Zahrān. When the Prophet ﷺ appeared in the company of the *Muhājir* and *Ansār*, Abu Sufyān quipped, "By God! Your nephew's kingdom seems to have grown large." 'Abbās answered, "Woe unto you man. This is prophethood." Abu Sufyān answered, "That be it."

Having witnessed the huge Muslim numbers, he rushed to Makkah to announce to his people that there was no way they could face Muhammad and his army. He also announced the Prophet's words, "Whoever entered into Abu Sufyān's quarters will be in peace. Whoever remained indoors in his own quarters, will be in peace. Whoever entered the Holy House[32] will be in peace." So, the people locked themselves in their homes.

As for Budayl and Hakim, it is recorded that they embraced Islam without any hesitation when they met with the Prophet ﷺ.[33]

As Abu Sufyān stood watching the Muslim forces, Sa'd bin 'Ubādah, the leader of the *Ansār* group remarked as they passed by, "Today is the day of slaughter. Today Ka'bah is made lawful."[34] Abu Sufyān protested over these words. The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Sa'd didn't speak the truth. Indeed, today is the day when Ka'bah's dignity will be restored, the day when Ka'bah will be given a new cloth-covering." Then he commanded that the *Ansār* flag be taken away from Sa'd and handed over to his son Qays. However Sa'd requested that his son may not occupy the position he did among

[32] A narrative of Ishāq bin Rāhwayh in Ibn Hajar's *Al-Matālibul-'Āliyah* (4/244-248/H. 4362). He said: "This is an authentic report." Also documented by Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/62-67) whose text is more complete than that of *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/113-117/H. 4280).

[33] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/135), *Mu'allaq*; *Al-Wāqidi* (2/815) through his own chain. See the biography of Budayl in *Al-Isābah* (1/141-142) and the biography of Hakim in *Al-Isābah* (3491). Ibn Hajar said: "He was late to embrace Islam which he did after the fall of Makkah."

[34] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/116-118/H. 4280).

the army-men fearful that he will claim it for himself.[35] The Prophet ﷺ agreed and placed his son elsewhere. Some say that the flag was handed over to Zubayr bin 'Awwām so that Zubayr entered Makkah holding two flags.[36] Musa bin 'Uqbah expressed this as his firm opinion in his history book.[37]

Wāqidi[38] has plenty of finer details about how the flags were distributed among the people. He also gives the names of the Prophet's emissaries sent to the tribes to raise the army. The details of the tribes that participated, and the number that each tribe brought is also given by him. It is reported that when the Prophet ﷺ reached Marr Az-Zahrān, he rearranged the army structure: appointing the leaders, dividing them as those positioned at the left, right, center, etc. He placed Khālid bin Walid at the right, Zubayr bin 'Awwām at the left, and Abu 'Ubaydah as the leader of the foot soldiers.[39] The Prophet's flag was black and the standards white.[40]

The Quraysh recruited tribesmen of the outlying area for a fight against the Muslims. They said to themselves that they would place them in the front, 'if they win, we shall be the winners, but if they are cut down, we shall give what we are asked.' The Prophet ﷺ ordered the onslaught to start. The Muslims advanced until they occupied the Safa mountain. No one resisted them but they killed

[35] Ibn Hajar: *Mukhtasar Zawā'idil-Bazzār*, p. 248, where he said, "Authentic." Also in *Al-Fath* (16/177/explanation of H. 4280) where he said that its chain meets the conditions set by Bukhāri.

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The Prophet ﷺ entered into Makkah from the upper Kada' side.[43] He was in a state of humbleness and gratitude, reciting *Surat Al-Fath* on his camel.[44] Khālid bin Walid entered from the lower side.[45] At Khandamah he clashed with some pagans as a result of which two Muslim horsemen were martyred.[46] Some say three. It is said that the pagans lost twelve or thirteen of their men.[47] Others say twenty men. Hudhayl lost three or four.[48] Other reports say the Quraysh lost twenty-four while Hudhayl lost four.[49] Another report says that altogether seventy men died.[50] Musa bin 'Uqba's opinion is preferable in this regard, for he is accepted as a reliable narrator

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[43] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/129/H. 4290, 4291).

[44] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/123/H. 4281).

[45] *Al-Fath* (16/128/explanation of H. 4280).

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by most Traditionists and is more reliable than Ibn Isḥāq, Ibn Sa'd, or Wāqidi. The report that Musa bin 'Uqbah has is that Abu Sufyān protested to the Prophet ﷺ, "O Messenger of Allāh. If Quraysh's lives are made lawful, there will be no Quraysh after this day."[51]

The reports lead us to believe that this small fighting that took place was because the pagans would not accept the peace offer given to them by the Prophet ﷺ.[52] In fact, some of the *Ansār* thought that the immunity offered to the Makkans, if they did not resist, was because the Prophet ﷺ was related to them. The Revelation informed him of what they were saying. So he addressed them thrice saying, "Never. I am indeed a slave and Allāh's Messenger. I migrated to Allāh and toward you. I will live your life and die your death." They came to him weeping. They said, "By Allāh, we did not say it but in good faith in Allāh and His Messenger." He replied, "Allāh and His Messenger attest to your claim and excuse you." Thereafter, some Makkans took refuge in Abu Sufyān's quarters while others locked themselves within their homes.[53]

Four men and two women were excluded from the general amnesty. The Prophet ﷺ announced that they were to be killed even if found holding the Ka'bah drapes. The men were: 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl,[54] 'Abdullah bin Khatal,[55] Miqyas bin

[51] *Muslim* (3/1406/H. 1780).

[52] See the *Hadith* wherein the Prophet ﷺ is mentioned as having taken the banner from Sa'd when he learnt of him saying, "Today is the day of slaughther. Today Ka'bah is made lawful." The Prophet ﷺ said, "Sa'd didn't speak the truth." See also the narrative which says that the Prophet ﷺ instructed his commanders not to fight unless fought against—*Ibn Hishām* (4/72), *Mu'allaq*. And, the general announcement was: "Whoever entered into the house of Abu Sufyān is in peace. Whoever laid down his arms is in peace. Whoever shut his door is in peace," being a narration of *Muslim* (3/1408/H. 1780). According to another narration of Ibn Isḥāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/62-67), and Isḥāq bin Rāhwayh in *Al-Matālibul-'Āliyah* (4/244-248, H. 4362) through an authentic chain, he said, "Whoever entered the Grand Mosque, is in peace."

[53] *Muslim* (3/1406/H. 1780).

[54] See Wāqidi: *Al-Maghāzi* (2/825). The story of his acceptance of Islam leads us to believe that the Prophet ﷺ had declared impunity of his blood.

[55] He was a Muslim, so the Prophet ﷺ sent him with one of the *Ansār*. The two had Muslim servant working with Ibn Khatal. At one point Ibn

Subābah[56] and 'Abdullah bin Abu Sarh.[57] Ibn Khatal was in fact killed while he held the Ka'bah cloth.[58] Miqyas was killed in the Makkan market. 'Ikrimah and Ibn Sa'd went underground until the Prophet ﷺ promised them peace. They came to him and embraced Islam.[59] The women were: Fartana and Sārah. Some reports say it was Fartana and two other women who were both the slave-girls of Ibn Khatal.[60] As for Sārah, she

Khatal attacked his servant and killed him because he had not prepared food for him and reverted from Islam becoming a pagan, Ibn Isḥāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/74). He also used to satirize the Prophet ﷺ in poetry—Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/126/explanation of H. 42860).

[56] One of the *Ansār* killed his brother by mistake. He was paid blood money, but still he attacked the *Ansāri* and killed him, then fled to Makkah as an apostate, Ibn Isḥāq in a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (4/75); Bazzār in *Al-Kashf* (2/343) through a chain which has Suddi, who was weak; Tabarāni in *Al-Awsat*, which has Hakam bin 'Abdul-Mālik, who was weak as in *Al-Majma'* (6/167-168); 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/377-378) through a chain in which appears 'Uthmān Jazari, who was disputed; Ibn Abu Shaybah in *Al-Musannaf* (14/491) which too has Suddi, and Nasa'i (7/105/The Book of *Hudud*). Thus the narrative can be considered an acceptable report on account of others (*Hasan li Ghayrihi*).

[57] He embraced Islam, was one of the writers of the Revelation, then he turned apostate: *Ibn Sa'd* (2/141), a *Mursal* report through Sa'eed bin Musaiyab; Tabarāni in *Al-Awsat*; 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* and Nasa'i. See the previous footnote which has other details. It is also in Ibn Isḥāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/73), and Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/133- 134/The Book of *Jihād*), but its chain has Suddi and Asbāt who were both weak. Thus, once again the narrative can be considered an acceptable report on account of others (*Hasan li Ghayrihi*). See *Al-Isābah* (2/316).

[58] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/126/H. 4286).

[59] Nasa'i: *Sharh Sunan An-Nasa'i* by Suyuti: *Zahratur-Ruba* (7/105), through a weak chain that has two weak supporting narratives. One is in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (5/60-61) through a chain that has Hakam bin 'Abdul-Malik, who was weak, and the other in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/120) which has 'Amr bin 'Uthmān Makhzumi who was acceptable. A third supportive narration is very weak in *Dalā'il* (5/95) through a chain involving Asbāt and Suddi who were both weak. Therefore the report is *Hasan* because of several routes.

[60] Ibn Isḥāq, through a *Mu'allaq* report—*Ibn Hishām* (4/74). He said that they used to sing defamatory songs aimed at the Prophet ﷺ, so he ordered them killed together with Ibn Khatal. The incident of their killing was reported by Hārith bin Abu Usāmah in his *Musnad*, as in *Al-Matālibul-*

was the slave-girl of 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl.[61] As for Ibn Khatal's slaves, one was killed while another ran away. She later sought peace and returned. Sārah also fled, sought peace, was granted and lived until the time of 'Umar ﷺ when she fell under a rider's horse and was stamped to death.[62]

Hāfiz states that the Prophet ﷺ had declared lawful the life of nine men and six or eight women; the difference being accounted for by the two singing girls of Ibn Khatal. It is possible that the two were Arnab and Umm Sa'd. Hāfiz named the others as:

(i) Huwayrith bin Nuqaydh. He was the one who had prodded the camel which Fātimah ﷺ and Umm Kulthum ﷺ were riding the day of their emigration. The two had fallen off the camel. 'Ali ﷺ killed him.

(ii) Habbār bin Aswad. He was the one who had prodded the Prophet's daughter Zaynab's camel so that she fell down on a rock and a miscarriage occurred. He fled when Makkah fell. However, later he became a good Muslim.

(iii) Hārith bin Talātil the Khuza'i. 'Ali ﷺ killed him.

(iv) Ka'b bin Zuhayr. He appeared as a Muslim and was pardoned.

(v) Wahshi bin Harb. He had killed Hamzah ﷺ. He ran away to Tā'if. Later he came back along with the Thaqif emissary and became a Muslim.

(vi) Hind bin 'Utbah, Abu Sufyān's wife. She too became a Muslim.

'Āliyah (4/243); Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/134/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2685) in brief, which has Suddi and Asbāt, and *An-Nasa'i* (7/105-106) through a weak chain. Thus the report is of *Hasan* status.

[61] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/76).

[62] *Al-Fath* (16/120/explanation of H. 4280). He mentioned their names and sources and controversies thereby, the reason why each one of them had his blood considered as which could be shed with impunity, who was killed and why. See also in this regard Ibn Ishāq and a few missing details in *Ibn Hishām*, but through *Mu'allaq* reports—*Ibn Hishām* (4/73-74). Reports are contradictory on this topic. See also the thesis of Dr. Dum, pp. 127-137.

Wāqidi[63] mentions that the Prophet ﷺ ordered six men and four women to be excluded from general amnesty: 'Ikrimah, Habbār, Ibn Sa'd, Miqyas, Huwayrith, Ibn Khatal, Hind bint 'Utbah, Sārah—the freed slave-girl of 'Amr bin Hishām, and two singing girls of Ibn Khatal.

There were various reasons for not sparing their lives. They were known for their extreme hatred of Islam and in causing Muslims harm in every way possible for them. They were to become a lesson for the criminals of all times.

The Prophet ﷺ allowed the Khuza'āh to take revenge from the Banu Bakr. The time allowed was from the time he entered into Makkah until the afternoon. By afternoon he ordered the swords back into their sheaths, restoring the Makkan sanctity. And, when one of the Banu Khuzā'ah killed a man from Banu Bakr on the next day in Muzdalifah, the Prophet ﷺ became extremely angry. He himself paid the blood money of the Bakari life. He announced that the kin of anyone killed thereafter had the right to either retaliate or accept blood money.[64]

Ibn Ishāq[65] gives us details of the Bakari's killing. His name was Ibn Ashwa' Hadhali. He was killed by Khirāsh bin Umaiyah. He killed him in retaliation of the killing of one of the important men of Khuzā'ah, a man called Ahmar.

Otherwise, the Prophet ﷺ announced a general amnesty for the rest of the Makkans. The general amnesty was announced when they were assembled together near the Ka'bah. He asked them, "What do you expect from me?" They replied, "Good. A generous

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[63] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/825).

[64] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/159) through a chain *Hasan li Dhātihi* originally a narrative of Abu Shurayh Khuzā'i discussing sanctity of Makkah—*Ibn Hishām* (4/82-83), and the narration of Ibn Ishāq in the *Musnad*: *Ar-Rabbāni* (21/162), which has Muslim bin Zayd Sa'di acceptable narrator (*Maqbul*) who has also been followed with similar reports. Thus the *Hadith* rises to *Hasan li Ghayrihi* status. As for the sanctity of Makkah, it was also reported by *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/131/H. 42955), and in places other than this, and *Muslim* (2/987-988/H. 1354) and by others apart from them.

[65] *Ibn Hishām* (4/81-82) through a *Hasan* chain if it can be demonstrated that the unnamed narrator is a Companion.

brother, son of a generous brother." He said, "There is no blame on you today. May Allāh forgive you."[66] According to another report he said, "Go. You are free."[67] From thereon they were known as the 'freed ones'.

In this announcement the Prophet ﷺ was guided by the Verse,

﴿وَإِنْ عَاقَبْتُمْ فَعَاقِبُوا۟ بِمِثْلِ مَا عُوقِبْتُم بِهِۦ ۖ وَلَئِن صَبَرْتُمْ لَهُوَ خَيْرٌ لِّلصَّـٰبِرِينَ﴾

"But if you retaliate, then retaliate in the same measure as you were wronged. But, if you bear it with patience (and forgive) then that is better for the patient."[68]

He remarked, "We shall bear it with patience and shall not retaliate."[69]

The Prophet ﷺ restored Makkah's sanctity and announced that it was not to be violated thereafter.[70] He also installed the Quraysh into the highest place of honor by announcing that no Qurayshi was to be killed without cause or in captivity from that

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[66] Abu 'Ubaydah: *Kitābul-Amwāl*, p. 143, through a *Hasan* chain but a *Mursal* report; Ibn Ishāq, through a chain which has unknown narrators–*Ibn Hishām* (4/77-78); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/141-142), through a chain that has unknown narrators, being a narrative of Zuhri. If it can be shown that it is a Companion, then the report would be authentic. However there are differences in the two versions of Abu 'Ubayd and Ibn Ishāq. Also found with Ibn Abu Dunya in *Dhammil-Ghadab*, as in *Kanzul-'Ummāl* (10/389) in brief; Ibn Sunni in *'Amalul-Yawm wal-Layalah*, coming from 'Umar, p. 99, in whose chain falls 'Abdullah bin Mu'ammal, who was weak as in *Al-Kāmil* of Ibn 'Adi (4/445-456). Thus the report gathers strength from these various sources.

[67] A narration of Ibn Ishāq, through a chain that has unknown persons, being originally a tradition of Zuhri–*Ibn Hishām* (4/78).

[68] *Surat An-Nihal*: 126.

[69] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/135), and Albāni: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi* (3/67/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3349) who said, "*Hasan-Sahih* of chain." Hākim (2/359) said: "Its chain is authentic, although the two did not document it." Dhahabi agreed with him.

[70] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/412), through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain; *Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (3/83), who ruled it as *Hasan-Sahih*.

day until the Day of Judgement.[71]

The Prophet ﷺ also declared Makkah as an exception to the general rules of war. He declared unlawful the killing of a prisoner, taking of prisoners, and of booty. People's wealth was left in their hands. He did not exact tribute from them. Accordingly, the great majority of scholars believe that the Makkan lands cannot be sold nor its houses given out on rent. Its inhabitants might reside in portions necessary for them while the rest should be for pilgrims, at no cost. However, some have said that its land can be sold and its houses can be rented out. They argue with stronger reports in comparison to the weak reports used by those who prohibit.[72]

A tent was struck for the Prophet ﷺ in Hajun. That was the place where the Quraysh had gathered together and taken the decision to boycott Banu Hashim and the Muslims. It was the Khayf of Banu Kinanah and known as Muhassab. That place was later taken by 'Aqil bin Abu Tālib. But he could not be inherited from because he was a disbeliever,[73] nor could 'Ali or Ja'far inherit it for they were Muslims and their father had died a disbeliever. Finally, 'Aqil and Tālib had in any case sold out the quarters.[74]

The Prophet ﷺ ordered that the Ka'bah be cleared of its idols. He gave a helping hand in their breaking. He was saying,

﴿قُلْ جَآءَ ٱلْحَقُّ وَمَا يُبْدِئُ ٱلْبَـٰطِلُ وَمَا يُعِيدُ﴾

"Say, 'the truth has come, falsehood will not create anything and will not return.'"[75]

And,

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[71] *Muslim* (3/149/H. 1782), and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/412), through a reliable chain.

[72] In brief, taken from Ibn Qayyim in *Zād* (3/435-441), who added that the Imams who would not allow were Mujāhid, Ata' in Makkah, Mālik in Madinah, Abu Hanifah in Iraq as also Thawri, Ahmad and Ibn Rāhwayh. Ibn Qayyim was himself on the side of those who allowed.

[73] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/124 H. 4282) & (7/242/H. 1589, 1590), and *Muslim* (2/984/H. 1351).

[74] *Al-Bukhāri/AlFath* (7/241/H. 1588).

[75] *Surat Saba'*: 49.

﴿جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ إِنَّ الْبَاطِلَ كَانَ زَهُوقًا﴾

"Truth has come and falsehood has left. Surely, falsehood had to go."[76, 77]

The idols numbered 360.[78] There were also a few illustrations: of Ibrāhim, Ismā'il and Ishaq. They were shown divining with the arrows. He ordered the walls rubbed with saffron and did not enter until the operations were complete. He remarked, "May Allāh (ﷻ) destroy those who placed them. Ibrāhim never divined with the arrows."[79] According to another report, the Ka'bah was also defiled with the illustration of Maryam.[80] Two wooden pigeons were also discovered and destroyed.[81]

When Ka'bah was cleansed, the Prophet ﷺ entered and offered two *Rak'ah* prayer therein.[82] Thereafter he restored the key to 'Uthmān bin Talhah for the pilgrim affairs to remain in the hands of the Banu Shaybah, as it used to be in pagan days.[83] Then he touched

[76] *Surat Al-Isrā'*: 81.

[77] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/127/H. 4287), which has only the Verse referring to *Saba'*; and *Muslim* (3/2408/H), which as two Verses, and according to other two versions with him, he mentioned only the Verse pertaining to *Isra'*; *Ibn Hishām*, but his chain has the ultimate narrator unidentified, otherwise its narrators are reliable (4/84-85), who also mentioned the Verse of *Isra'*.

[78] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/126/H. 4287), *Muslim* (3/1408/H. 1781).

[79] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/127/H. 4288); Ahmad in his *Musnad* (1/365), through a trustworthy chain; and Ibn Qāni' in his *Mu'jam*, as in *Shifā'ul-Gharam* (1/230) as verified by Dr. Tadmuri. This one says that first he plastered it with mud and then applied some saffron.

[80] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (13/129/H. 3351).

[81] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain as in Dhahabi's *Maghāzi*, p. 552.

[82] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/232/H. 4400) where there are details of how he prayed inside the Ka'bah and where.

[83] This has been reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/83-85/H. 9073, 9076). It has it that the Prophet ﷺ suggested to 'Uthmān that they should disappear with the key; and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/128-129/ explanation of H. 4289). Thus also the narration gathers strength considering the many sources from where it originated.

the Black Stone and circumambulated the House without being in *Ihrām*. He was wearing a helmet the time he entered Makkah. Then he put on a black turban.[84] While circumambulating, he used to touch the Syrian corner with his driving stick,[85] so that people may not crowd along the place.

Then he ordered Bilāl ؓ to call out for prayer. Bilāl went up the roof of the Ka'bah and called out from there. Someone of the Banu Sa'eed bin Ās quipped, "God was kind on Sa'eed that he dealt him death before he could see this negro on top of the Ka'bah."[86] Some of the Quraysh leaders made similar remarks.[87]

After the House was cleansed of idols, the Prophet ﷺ sent scouts around to destroy major idols and deities. Khālid bin Walid was sent with thirty men to the quarters of Thaqif in order to destroy the 'Uzza idol. It was the deity of Mudar, Quraysh and Kinānah.[88]

[84] *Al-Bukhāri* (16/125/H. 4286), he did not mention that the Prophet ﷺ had a black turban on; and *Muslim* (2/990/H. 1358).

[85] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (7/266-267/H. 1602); and *Muslim* (2/926/H. 1272); *Sunan Abu Dāwud* (2/441-442/The Book of *Hajj*/H. 1877, 1878), through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain; and Tabarāni through his own chain whose transmitters are those of the *Sahih* works as Haythami mentioned in *Al-Majma'* (3/244).

[86] Dhahabi: *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 555, through a *Hasan* chain if it can be demonstrated that the one who narrated to Yasār was a Companion. It was 'Urwah who related the *Mursal* story of Bilāl's *Adhān* as in Dhahabi's *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 555, and by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/78) through a reliable chain. Ahmād also documented it along with Ibn Sa'd in *At-Tabaqāt* (3/ 234-235), *Mursal*. But its narrators are trustworthy. It tells us that the ones who commented on the incident were Hārith bin Hishām and Safwān bin Umaiyah. One of them said to the other, "Look at this negro!" The other remarked, "Surely, if Allāh disapproved of him, He would replace him." Bayhaqi recorded this through a chain other than that of 'Abdur-Razzāq, *Mursal* (5/79). Thus the tradition gathers strength. Wāqidi also reported it (2/846) through his own chains.

[87] See their opinions with Wāqidi in his *Al-Maghāzi* (2/864) through his own chain. Ibn Hishām has it through a *Munqati'* chain: *Sirat* (4/80).

[88] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/112). It says that its service and feeding of the pilgrims was in the hands of the Banu Shibān and Banu Sulaym, who were the allies of Banu Hāshim. Also, *Ibn Sa'd* (2/873), *Mu'allaq*; Wāqidi (2/873); Mizzi in *Tuhfatul-Ashrāf* (4/235/H. 5054) quoting from

That was fifteen days before Ramadān. He sent Sa'd bin Zayd Ashhali with twenty horsemen to destroy the Manāt idol in Mushallal in the direction of Qudayd, which is now known as Qudaydiyyah. That was a very important deity among the Arabs, especially for the Aws and Khazraj. That destruction was six days before the end of Ramadān. 'Amr bin 'Ās was sent to destroy Suwa' which was the idol with the Hudhayl.[89] The Qur'ānic revelations had spoken of these idols earlier.

﴿أَفَرَءَيْتُمُ ٱللَّٰتَ وَٱلْعُزَّىٰ ﴿١٩﴾ وَمَنَوٰةَ ٱلثَّالِثَةَ ٱلْأُخْرَىٰ﴾

"*Have you considered the Lât and 'Uzza, and the third, the Manāt*[90]

Thereafter, the people began to come in to pledge their hands to the Prophet ﷺ. When he was finished with men, women's turn came. One of those of the Quraysh that had come was Hind bint 'Utbah, Abu Sufyān's wife. She had veiled herself because of what she had done to Hamzah ؓ on the Day of Uhud. When they came near to pledge their loyalty, he said, "Pledge yourself that you will not associate aught with Allāh." Hind said, "By God. You ask us something that you didn't ask men. In any case, we shall grant it to you." He said, "...And that you shall not steal." She said, "By God, I used to take away from Abu Sufyān's pocket bits and pieces of money. I don't know if that was lawful." Abu Sufyān was present. He said, "I declare lawful unto you whatever you took in the past." The Prophet ﷺ asked, "Are you Hind, the daughter of 'Utbah?" She replied, "I am Hind bint 'Utbah. Forgive what happened in the past, and Allāh will forgive you." He continued, "And that you will not commit adultery." She asked, "Does a free woman commit adultery?" He said, "And you will not kill your offspring." She interjected again, "We reared them when they were young, but you killed them at Badr when adult. You and they know better between

Sunan Al-Kubra of Nasa'i, in whose chain falls Walid bin Jumay' a truthful man but given to doubts.

[89] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/145-147), in a *Mu'allaq* report, and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/874). It is said that the one who demolished it was 'Ali ؓ. See Kalbi: *Al-Asnām*, p. 15.

[90] *Surat An-Najm*: 19, 20.

yourselves." 'Umar ؓ laughed at her words. The Prophet ﷺ said, "And you bring not slander which you would have invented." She said, "By God! Slander is a dirty thing but it is better to ignore it." The Prophet ﷺ ended by saying, "You will not disobey me in virtuous matters," and asked 'Umar to complete the formalities of the allegiance. Thereafter he prayed for their forgiveness. 'Umar completed the allegiance because the Prophet ﷺ never touched a woman's hand unless she was lawful to him.[91]

Trustworthy reports tell us that the Prophet ﷺ took women's allegiance through words alone,

﴿لَا يُشْرِكْنَ بِٱللَّهِ شَيْـًٔا﴾

"*(that) they should not associate aught with Allāh,*" [92]

and no woman's hand that was not lawful to him ever touched him.[93]

One of the most significant effects of the fall of Makkah was that tribes after tribes began entering into Islam. They were waiting for the outcome of the struggle between the Muslims and the Quraysh. Bukhāri[94] reports through 'Amr bin Salamah Jarmi's words, "The Bedouins had conditioned their acceptance of Islam to the fall of Makkah. They used to say, 'Let us wait. If he overcomes them, then he is truthful and a Prophet.' So, when Makkah fell, everyone rushed forward to embrace Islam." That was because the Quraysh held a very important position in the pre-Islamic times. They were the custodians of the Ka'bah, sons of Ismā'il, but were violently opposing the Prophet ﷺ. With the fall of Makkah and Quraysh's submission to the Prophet ﷺ, other Arabs realized that they would not be able to resist the power of Islam or afford to bear enmity towards the Prophet ﷺ. So they entered into Islam in droves. Allāh (ﷻ) said describing the situation,

[91] Reported by Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/61-62) a complete chain.

[92] *Surat Al-Mumtahanah*: 12.

[93] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (20/98-99/H. 2588), and *Muslim* (3/1489/H. 1866).

[94] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/133-134/H. 4302).

﴿إِذَا جَآءَ نَصۡرُ ٱللَّهِ وَٱلۡفَتۡحُ ١ وَرَأَيۡتَ ٱلنَّاسَ يَدۡخُلُونَ فِي دِينِ ٱللَّهِ أَفۡوَاجٗا ٢ فَسَبِّحۡ بِحَمۡدِ رَبِّكَ وَٱسۡتَغۡفِرۡهُۚ إِنَّهُۥ كَانَ تَوَّابَۢا﴾

"When Allāh's help and victory comes, and you see the people entering into Allāh's religion in droves, then glorify your Lord's praise and seek His forgiveness. Surely, He is very forgiving."[95]

The Prophet ﷺ delivered several sermons during his stay there, expounding a number of rules and their implications. The first sermon was delivered at the door of the Ka'bah. He spoke about blood money involving pre-meditated as well as dubious murders. He also abolished any revenge-killing originating from the pre-Islamic times. He retained only two offices of the Ka'bah: the watering of the pilgrims and custodianship of the House, as before.[96]

In the second sermon he announced, "Lo. There is no rival alliance within Islam. Islam confirms the alliances, retains the promises of the previous days and strengthens them. Believers are one body against the others. The most humble of them can promise security (to an enemy). A believer may not be killed in retaliation of a disbeliever. The blood money for a disbeliever is half of that for the believer... And their *Zakāt* will not be collected but from their habitations."[97]

The third sermon was used as occasion to reconfirm the sanctity of Makkah, the prohibition of hunting within it, uprooting of its trees, of picking things lost within its precincts, of bloodletting within its boundaries. He also said that Allāh (ﷻ) had made fighting

[95] *Surat An-Nasr.* See Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (4/73), and the explanation of Ibn 'Abbās of this *Surah* being a narration of *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/130/H. 4294).

[96] Ahmad: The *Musnad* (3/410) through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain, and Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (2/492) through a trustworthy chain.

[97] The first was reported by *Muslim* (4/1961/H. 2530) up to "...and strengthens them." Also Ahmad, in bits and pieces in various parts of *Musnad* as well as in complete form. See: *Al-Fathur-Rabbānī* (21/160-161). Sā'āti said, "It is an authentic report which Tirmidhi and others declared authentic. It has various supporting evidences too."

lawful within its boundaries only for a couple of hours on the day of its fall.[98] He added, "*Hijrah* stands cancelled after the fall of Makkah. However, *Jihād* and intention remain." Accordingly, thereafter, new Muslims pledged their fealty to him only on Islam, faith and *Jihād*. He did not mention *Hijrah*.[99]

In the fourth sermon he explained that when someone was killed, his dependents had one of the two choices: blood money or retaliation.[100]

Lessons and Rules

1. The legality for a traveler not observing the Ramadān fasts without incurring a sin. The Prophet ﷺ broke his own fast when he reached Kadid.
2. The Prophet ﷺ offered eight cycles of prayer as *Duha* prayers.[101] He was brief with them. Some scholars have therefore argued that it is a compulsory *Sunnah* act (*Sunnat Mu'akkadah*).[102]
3. The most deserving of leadership in prayers is the one who has memorized the Qur'ān most. This can be deduced from the report concerning 'Amr bin Salamah.[103]
4. Shortening of the four-cycle prayers to two cycles as did the Prophet ﷺ during his nine-day stay at Makkah.[104]
5. Women's promise of peace and sanctuary being legal. The Prophet ﷺ acknowledged the safety provided by Umm Hāni to ten men from her family.[105]

[98] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/131/H. 4295), and *Muslim* (2/987/H. 354).

[99] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/137-138/H. 4035-4312) and *Muslim* (3/1487-1488/H. 1864).

[100] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (26/27-28/H. 6880), *Muslim* (2/988/H. 1355).

[101] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/130/H. 4292), and *Muslim* (1/497/H. 336).

[102] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/134/H. 4302). It has a part of the report.

[103] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/132/H. 4298, 4299).

[104] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/162/H. 3171), *Muslim* (1/498/H. 336).

[105] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/262/H. 3171), *Muslim* (1/498/H. 366).

6. Illegality of temporary marriage (*Mut'ah*) for all times after it remained legal for first three days[106] in Makkah. Nawawi[107] states that its prohibition and legality were declared twice. It was lawful before Khayber expedition and made illegal on the day of its fall. Then it was re-allowed at the time of Makkah expedition and then prohibited forever. Ibn Qayyim[108] however believes that it was not prohibited on the day of Khayber. Rather, it was prohibited only once during the Makkan expedition. He has a long article over this issue. Nevertheless, everyone agrees that after the fall of Makkah it was made unlawful for all times.

7. The Prophet ﷺ declared that the child from sin belonged to the bed and that the adulterer should be stoned to death. This we know through the tradition concerning Ibn Walidah Zam'ah bin Zam'ah. Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās and 'Abd bin Zam'ah disputed over him. The Prophet ﷺ decided in favor of 'Abd bin Zam'ah for he was born on his bed.[109]

8. The marriage contract between a pagan male and Muslim woman will remain in force, if the man embraces Islam before the end of the woman's waiting period. This came to fore when the wives of Safwān bin Umaiyah and 'Ikrimah bin Abu Jahl embraced Islam before they themselves did and, subsequently, their husbands embraced Islam before the end of the waiting period.[110]

9. The illegality of giving away by will more than one-third of

[106] *Muslim* (2/123/H. 1405-1406).
[107] Nawawi: *Sharh Sahih Muslim* (9/181).
[108] *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/343-345 and 459-464).
[109] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/135/H. 4303).
[110] Mālik: *Al-Muwatta'/Sharh Zurqāni*: (3613-3638/The Book of *Nikāh*) *Mursal* being a narrative of Zuhri. Zurqāni noted, "Ibn 'Abdul-Barr said, 'I do not know it narrated with a complete chain with this text. Nevertheless, the tradition is well-known among the war chroniclers. Ibn Shihāb is the father of this discipline whose narrative is stronger than its chain.'" See also Ibn 'Asākir in *Tārikh Dimashq*, verified by Sakinah Shihābi, p. 502, and Ibn Isḥāq reporting a tradition of Zuhri—*Ibn Hishām* (4/87).

one's wealth as proven by Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās' sickness in Makkah. He consulted the Prophet ﷺ over his desire to leave more than one-third his wealth in charity but was disallowed.[111]

10. It is allowed for a woman to take suitable amounts of money from her husband's wealth for supporting his children without his knowledge, if he does not spend it himself as proven by the story of Hind bint 'Utbah.[112]

11. Illegality of trading in wine, carcass, and idols.[113]

12. The legality of dying the hair of the old with saffron or henna and its illegality with black color, as was said by the Prophet ﷺ when Abu Quhāfah, Abu Bakr's father was brought to him.[114] The reason for it is simply to be different from the Jews and Christians.

13. The prohibition to intercede in cases of crime once the case has been brought to the notice of the state authorities, as it happened with a Makhzumi woman. She committed theft but Usāmah bin Zayd tried to free her through his intercession. The Prophet ﷺ said on that occasion, "Communities before you were destroyed because when a noble man committed theft they let him off but when a weak one did it they punished him. By Him in Whose Hand is my life, if Fātimah, Muhammad's

[111] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/207-208/H. 2743, 2744). See the discussion of Ibn Hajar around this topic and various opinions of the scholars, see his own opinion, p. 206, and Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (3/291) where he said, "This tradition is *Hasan-Sahih*."
[112] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/296-297/H. 3825), *Muslim* (3/1338/H. 1714).
[113] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (9/297/H. 2236).
[114] *Muslim* (3/1663/H. 2102), Ibn Isḥāq via a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/67-68). Several others have recorded this *Hadith* through Ibn Isḥāq, e.g., Ahmad: *Ar-Rabbāni* (21/151-152) whereat Sā'āti said, "Its chain is alright and the narrators reliable."

Dr. Abu Bakr Miqa has expressed the allowableness of dying the hair black.

daughter committed theft, I would sever her hand."[115]

14. The Prophet ﷺ disallowed the killing of a woman so long as she did not participate in a war. When he passed by a woman's dead body on the day of the fall of Makkah he remarked, "This woman wasn't fighting..."[116] He also prohibited the killing of children if they do not participate in a battle.[117]

15. The Prophet ﷺ began to show regards, pay respect and give preference to Abu Bakr over others. When he brought his old blind father to him he said, "You could have spared the old man and taken me to him." Abu Bakr remarked, "O Messenger of Allāh, it was more becoming that he should come to you rather than that you should go to him." The Prophet ﷺ made him sit before him, then he passed his hand over his breast and said, "Accept Islam."[118] He did so. It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ congratulated Abu Bakr over his father's Islam.[119]

16. The legality to enter into Makkah without the *Ihrām* clothing for someone not wishing to perform *Hajj* or *'Umrah*, for the Prophet

[115] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/136/H. 4300-4304), and *Muslim* (3/1315-1316/H. 1688-1689).

[116] A report in Ahmad in his *Musnad* (2/115), through a weak chain, for there falls in it Sharik bin 'Abdullah Nakha'i the Kufi, who was trustworthy but poor of memory. Nevertheless, it gathers strength from others such as that in Tabarāni's *Al-Awsat* with the same text and chain, being a report of Ibn 'Umar as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (12/114/explanation of H. 3102). See Ibn Hajar's discussion over the lawfulness of killing a woman who takes part in a murder (12/115/explanation of H. 3013).

[117] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/115/H. 3014, 3015), *Muslim* (3/1364/H. 1744) and others. And the reports of *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim* regarding the woman that was killed in one of *Maghāzi* are explained by the two narrations found in *Ahmad* and *Tabarāni*, as in the last footnote. They demonstrate that this happened during the fall of Makkah.

[118] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/67-69). A few others have also recorded it by his route.

[119] Reported by Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi* as a *Mursal* report, p. 559.

ﷺ entered into it on the day of its fall with ordinary clothes and the turban on.[120]

17. When parties of a peace treaty attack either some or all of those who are the responsibility of the Muslims, then that will be considered as declaration of war on them. The treaty would be considered broken. It is allowed for the Muslims to attack them by day or night. They do not need to notify them. Notification is served only when it is feared that the other party is making preparations to break the treaty. But, if they actually go against its clauses, then the treaty is cancelled.

18. Killing of a secret agent is the discretion of the leader of the Muslims. If he thinks killing is advantageous to the Muslims, he could order his killing. If he thinks otherwise, or there exists a good reason, then he might spare him, as in the case of Hātib.

19. The legality of undressing a woman if there is a good reason for it, as in the case of the woman who was carrying Hātib's letter, as was the stand taken by 'Ali and Miqdād.

20. If a Muslim blames another of hypocrisy, not following his own whims, but in the cause of Allāh, His Messenger, or His religion, then, he in turn cannot be called a disbeliever. Nor will he earn any sin. In fact, he might be rewarded for his good intentions.[121]

21. Legality of killing an apostate, if he is resolved on his apostasy, without first seeking his repentance, as it happened in the case of 'Abdullah bin Abu Sarh.

22. As for the rules pertaining to *Hijrah*, we have already stated them when dealing with the Prophet's journey to Madinah and that of the Companions to Abyssinia.

[120] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/125/H. 4286), and *Muslim* (2/990/H. 1358).

[121] Ibn Qaiyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/420-423).

Expeditions and Delegations during Makkan Stay

Khālid bin Walid to Banu Jadhimah[122] of the Kinanah

The Prophet ﷺ sent Khālid bin Walid to Banu Jadhimah in Shawwāl of the 8th year after *Hijrah*. That was after his return from the expedition to demolish the 'Uzza idol.[123] He went out with 350 men of the *Muhājir*, the *Ansār* and Banu Sulaym. He was to invite them to Islam.[124]

However, when he invited them to Islam they did not know how to respond. Intending to say, "We have believed," they uttered, "*Saba'na*" meaning, "we entered into another religion." So Khālid attacked, killed and captured them. He distributed the prisoners among the Muslims. After some time he ordered them to kill them off. A group of Muslims differed with him. 'Abdullah bin 'Umar ؓ said, "By Allāh, we shall not kill our prisoners and none of my companions will do it either." When they went back to the Prophet ﷺ, he raised his hands and prayed, "O Allāh! I am quit of what Khālid has done." He said that twice.[125]

Ibn Sa'd[126] has said that it were Banu Sulaym who had killed their prisoners. The *Ansār* and *Muhājir* refused. In fact, they freed them all.

A heated exchange took place between Khālid bin Walid and

[122] They were at the lower side of Makkah at the distance of a day, on the road to Yalamlam. See *Ibn Sa'd* (2/147). It has been said that Yalamlam is a mountain in Tāi'f about two to three night's travel from Makkah. Some say it is a valley—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (8/514) some eighty km south of Makkah.

[123] See *Ibn Sa'd* (2/147), *Mu'allaq*.

[124] See *Ibn Sa'd* (2/147), *Mu'allaq*. Ibn Ishāq through a weak chain for there appears in it Hakam bin Hakim around whom there has been some controversy—*Ibn Hishām* (4/100). However, the primary story of the reasons why the delegation was sent and what happened during it has been recorded by *Al-Bukhāri* as in *Al-Fath* (16/H. 4339).

[125] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/174/H. 4339) and Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/166-167) in the words and transmission chain of Bukhāri.

[126] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/148), *Mu'allaq* and therefore weak.

'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf. It came to such a pass that 'Abdur-Rahmān began to suspect that Khālid's strong measure towards them could have been because of the killing of Khālid's uncle Fākih bin Mughirah by some Jadhimah men in the pre-Islamic times.[127] It is possible that the following *Hadith* recorded in *Muslim*[128] and others was referring to this incident. It says, "Something happened between 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf and Khālid. Khālid spoke somewhat roughly. The Prophet ﷺ said, 'Don't show disrespect to my Companions. If one of you spent gold equal to Mount Uhud, he will not attain their status, not even half way to it.''

The Prophet ﷺ then sent 'Ali ؓ to the Banu Jadhimah. He paid them blood money for every man killed, and, in addition, added gifts to win their hearts.[129]

However, it appears that Khālid's killing was based on an honest approach, for the Prophet ﷺ did not punish him.[130]

Ibn Ishāq[131] has reported the story of a young Jadhimah

[127] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (4/104, 105) in whom one might look for details.

[128] *Sahih Muslim* (4/1967-1968/H. 2541).

[129] Ibn Ishāq, through a weak *Mursal* chain for it stops at Abu Ja'far Muhammad bin 'Ali. Further in its chain falls Hakam bin Hakim who was controversial—*Ibn Hishām* (4/102-103) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/147-148), *Mu'allaq*.

[130] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/174/explanation of H. 3439).

[131] Through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/107-109) up to the point of the young man's killing. As for the youth's death, he reported it through a *Munqati'* chain because of the unknowableness of his masters. If their companionship is proved, the report would turn trustworthy—*Ibn Hishām* (4/109). The correctness of this part of the report is confirmed by what Bayhaqi recorded in his *Dalā'il* (5/116-118), it being a report of Ibn 'Uyaynah through two routes reaching up to the father of Ibn 'Isām Muzani, as well a report in *Nasa'i* which traces it to Ibn 'Abbās: both being reliable chains as judged by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/175/H. 4339); Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih; Mawāriduz-Zamān*, p. 160, *Hadith* No. 6697, whose report is through 'Isām Muzani. He attributed it to Tabarāni in his *Kabir* and to Bazzār. The verifier declared its chain *Hasan* as in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (16/210). There are variances in the two reports of Bayhaqi and Ibn Hibbān on the one side and Ibn Ishāq on the other. Bayhaqi's reports do not mention the incident took place when Khālid was sent to Jadhimah. The narrative of Ibn 'Uyaynah also differs with that of Nasa'i. However,

imprisoned man. He asked Abu Hadrad to take him, although bound in ropes, to the women of his tribe (held separately), so that he could speak to them. Afterwards he could bring him back and do with him what he wished. Abu Hadrad did that. He went up to where the women were and addressed them in words, "Give up, O Hubaysh, for life is at its end." Then he recited some warm poetry addressing one of the women there with whom he was in love. She answered, "May your life be prolonged to seven and ten continuous years and eight thereafter." Thereafter Abu Hadrad took him back and he was beheaded. His beloved broke out from the women's rank, bent herself over his body and kept kissing him until she too fell dead by his side. When the Prophet ﷺ was told of the story he remarked, "Wasn't there a single kind man among you?"[132]

Other Expeditions

Of the other sorties that the Prophet ﷺ arranged during his stay at Makkah to attack the pagans was that of Hishām bin 'Ās. He was sent to the Yalamlam side at the head of 200 men. He also sent Khālid bin Sa'eed bin 'Ās to 'Uranah along with 300 men.[133]

all the reports have similarity in the young man's attitude towards the girl and the girl's towards the young man.

[132] This *Hadith* has arrived through Nasa'i through an authentic chain as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/175). It was also reported by Bayhaqi in *Ad-Dalā'il* (5/118) and Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, *Mawāriduz-Zamān*, p. 159, *Hadith* No. 6696, where he attributed it to Tabarāni in *Kabir* and *Awsat*; and the verifier Muhammad 'Abdur-Razzāq Hamzah said, "Its chain is *Hasan*, as said in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (6/210).

[133] *Al-Wāqidi* (2/873) and he was abandoned and hence narrations are very weak.

Chapter 23

Hunayn and Tā'if Expeditions

Hunayn

The Prophet ﷺ stayed in Makkah for ten days[1] until the Hawāzin and Thaqif tribes arrived. They ascended into the Hunayn valley intending to fight him. In fact, they had assembled an army much earlier when they heard that he had left Madinah, expecting him to attack them. When they learnt that he was in Makkah, they began to recruit fighters and work on the logistics.[2] They came down to Hunayn hoping to attack him before he did. Also, they

[1] This is part of a report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/132/H. 4298, 4299). As for the narrative of Tabari as mentioned in the report, it said that the time of stay was half a month, which he did not cross. However, what is in the *Sahih* works is more reliable.

[2] Up to this point it is a narration of Tabari in his *Tārikh* (3/70) through a *Mursal* and incomplete chain stopping at 'Urwah. It has a supporting narrative with Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain as stated by Dhahabi in his *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 571. It says that Hunayn is a valley on the side of Dhul-Majāz. Hāfiz added that Hunayn is close to Tā'if and that between it and Makkah the distance is that of a few over ten miles from the side of 'Arafāt (*Al-Fath*, 16/139).

Nawawi further added that it is a valley between Makkah and Tā'if behind 'Arafāt (*Sharh Muslim* 12/113/The Book of *Jihād*). Hamad Jāsir said that it is twenty km from Makkah in the eastern direction known today as Sharā'i'. (See his notes on *Al-Manāsik* by Harbi and Fuwād Hamzah, *Qalb Jaziratul-'Arab*, p. 471).

wished a conclusive fight. So they brought their women and children along so that none of them should flee. Mālik bin 'Awf the Nasri was leading them. They also sought the help of Ghatafān and a few other tribes.[3] Banu Nasr, Banu Jusham, Banu Sa'd bin Bakr were the main participants. There were smaller contingents from Banu Hilāl, Banu 'Amr bin 'Āmir and 'Awf bin 'Āmir. Thaqif were wholly present, and so were Banu Mālik.[4] However, Ka'b and Kilāb of the Hawāzin stayed away.

Banu Jusham were led by Durayd bin Simmah. He was an old man who was only there because his opinion was much respected. He had a long experience in war. He did not approve of Mālik's suggestion that women, children and cattle be taken into the battle-field. If they lost, they would lose all. But Mālik wouldn't listen to him. Durayd also said about Ka'b and Kilāb, "K'ab and Kilāb have stayed away. If it was a promising day, they wouldn't be away. I wish you'd do what Ka'b and Kilāb have done." Other remarks were also heard of him suggesting that he feared defeat. But it was Mālik who was obeyed, although he was just thirty years old and did not have much experience in war. He in fact passed remarks about Durayd suggesting that he had gotten senile. He also swore before the Hawāzin men that either they listen to him or he will commit suicide. So they obeyed him. He ordered them to break the sheaths of their swords and attack the Muslims as one body.[5]

He arranged the fighters quite impressively. First came[6] the cavalry, then the foot soldiers, then women, then children and

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3 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/272/H. 4337), *Muslim* (2/735/H. 1059).

4 A narration of Ibn Ishāq through Yunus bin Bukayr, and a *Hadith* of Jābir ﷺ through a *Hasan* chain. Dhahabi mentioned this in his *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 571; *Al-Hākim* (3/48) who judged it reliable, with Dhahabi's concurrence. *Sirat Ibn Hishām* has another report (4/114). These two narratives cover the narrations of Tabari, Bukhāri and Muslim, which actually have greater details.

5 Being a narration of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—as in *Sirat Ibn Hishām* (4/114) as also a tradition of Jābir, through a *Hasan* chain as taken from him by Dhahabi for his *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 573.

6 *Muslim* (2/736/H. 1059).

finally the cattle. He had 20,000 men[7] in his command on that day.

When the Prophet ﷺ heard of him he sent 'Abdullah bin Abu Hadrad Aslami to infiltrate their ranks, assess their strength and bring back the news.[8]

When the news was brought back in detail, the Prophet ﷺ smiled in Abu Hadrad's face and said, "These will be in Muslim possession tomorrow, Allāh willing."[9]

After collecting important military information, the Prophet ﷺ began to make his own preparations. He borrowed thirty camels and thirty coats of mail from Ya'la bin Umaiyah. (He had embraced Islam on the day Makkah fell. Also, he participated in the Hunayn, Tā'if and Tabuk expeditions).[10] Similarly, he borrowed a hundred coats of mail from Safwān bin Umaiyah. (He was one of those who

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7 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/893).

8 A transmission of Ibn Ishāq on the authority of Yunus bin Bukayr and a narration of Jābir, through a *Hasan* report. See *Al-Maghāzi* of Dhahabi, pp. 571-572, and *Al-Hākim* (3/48) who treated it as reliable and Dhahabi agreed to it. He states that the man sent was 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu Hadard.

9 A narration of Abu Dāwud through a *Hasan* chain, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/139/explanation of the chapter). He has it that the person sent was 'Abdullah bin Abu Hadrad's in the report of Ibn Ishāq. See Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* (3/20-21/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2501). It is a report with a reliable chain.

10 See his biography in *Al-Isti'āb* (3/661-665) and *Al-Isabāh* (3/668). The report about the borrowing has been reported by Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (2/146/The Book of Sales). Zayla'i has mentioned in *Nasbur-Rāyah* that of those others who have recorded it are: Nasa'i, Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* (4/11) then added that 'Abdul-Haq as said in *Ahkām* that the report of Ya'la bin Umaiyah is more trustworthy than that of Safwan bin Umaiyah. He was referring to Safwān's report of the borrowing. The writer of *Al-Jawharun-Naqi* said in *Sharh Sunan Al-Kubra* of Bayhaqi (6/90) about this report: Ibn Hazm has said that this is a *Hasan* report and of all those narrated in this regard, there is no other report which is more reliable than this one. As for others, there is no point wasting time with them..." He was also referring to the report of Safwān bin Umaiyah with regard to the borrowing. See Ibn Hazm: *Al-Muhalla* (9/173). See it traced in *Irwa'* (5/348-349). However, Albāni declared its chain reliable as traced by Abu Dāwud who brought it through Hammām from Qatādah from 'Ata' bin Abu Rabāh from Safwān bin Ya'la from his father.

had been gifted wealth at the fall of Makkah to win their hearts). He returned them to him after the battle with thanks.[11] It is reported that he also borrowed 40,000 dirham[12] from Huwaytib bin 'Abdul-'Uzza. Nawfal bin Hārith bin 'Abdul-Muttalib helped him with 3000 spears.[13]

After his stay at Makkah for 19 days,[14] the Prophet ﷺ left for Hunayn on the sixth of Shawwāl. Some reports say two days were left of Ramadān. Some scholars have reconciled the two reports by saying that he started out in Ramadān, left on the sixth of Shawwāl, and reached Hunayn on the tenth of Shawwāl.[15] He had appointed 'Attāb bin Asid bin Abul-'Eis as the governor of Makkah.[16]

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[11] One of the narratives of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain. Dhahabi reported it in *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. 571-572, and *Al-Hākim* (3/48) who thought it reliable and Dhahabi agreed with him. The tradition has come through other sources too, but weak. However, some lend strength to others taking it to the level of *Sahih*. See it also in *Sunan Al-Bayhaqi* (6/89-90) where he reported through weak sources. Ibn Ishāq recorded it through a *Hasan* chain, as also in *Irwā'ul-Ghalil* (5/344-346).

[12] *Al-Isti'āb* (1/385) *Mu'allaq*, which happens to be a weak kind.

[13] Ibid (1/537).

[14] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/132/H. 4298, 4299).

[15] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/139); Bayhaqi: *Sunan Al-Kubra* (3/151), and Nasa'i: *Sunan* (3/100).

[16] Traced by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isabāh* (2/451), originally a narration of Tayālisi, and Bukhāri in his *At-Tārikhul-Kabir* (7/54). The chain has Ayyub bin 'Abdullah bin Yasār about whom Bukhāri remained silent in *At-Tārikh Al-Kabir* (1/419) and Ibn Abu Hātim: *Al-Jarhu wat-Ta'dil* (2/251). Ibn Hajar said: "Its chain is of *Hasan* class." Ibn Khayyāt used it in his *Tārikh*, p. 88, through two routes. One of them is a *Mursal* of Zuhri while the other complete but weak because of the weakness of 'Abdullah bin Ya'la. On the whole, reports about 'Attāb's appointment as governor of Makkah are not too strong, but as a whole some lend strength to others. Hence Ibn Hajar declared it *Hasan*. In the like manner, Albāni declared it *Hasan* as in his notes on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, p. 433.

See the study of Dr. Quraybi in his doctoral thesis *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Hunayn*, pp. 160-165. Also see Ibn Ishāq who recorded it through a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/117-118); *Al-Hākim* (3/595); Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/77). These are reports on the strength of which one can argue his case, especially, when the matter is historical and not of the type dealing with the concepts of Islam. See Quraybi, 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 197.

Bukhāri[17] and Muslim tell us that those who were pardoned on the day Makkah fell, had also accompanied the Prophet ﷺ to Hunayn, although their numbers are not known. Biographers have stated that they numbered two thousand, while the Companions were ten thousand. Thus, they were 12,000,[18] the largest Muslim army ever. Accordingly, some of them expressed the feeling that they would not lose the battle, at least not for numbers.[19] The Prophet ﷺ did not approve of it when he heard one of them say so. The Qur'ān also censured them for relying on numbers instead of on Allāh alone. It said,

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[17] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/170/H. 4333); *Muslim* (2/735-736/H. 1059) and see Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/175, 190).

[18] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/118); and Ibn Ishāq, *Mursal* through Zuhri, asserting having heard it personally, as in *Al-Maghāzi* of Dhahabi, p. 572; Ibn Khayāt in his *Tārikh; Al-Hākim* (2/121) declaring it authentic with Dhahabi agreeing to it, but Haythami thought it defective because of the presence of 'Abdullah bin 'Iyād in the chain whom no one ever declared reliable; Bukhāri in his *At-Tārikh Al-Kabir* (4/19) in which also occurs 'Abdullah bin 'Iyād; Tabari in his *Tārikh* (3/73) picking it from Ibn 'Ishāq, *Mursal*, at times using terms 'so-and-so,' further, it has Ibn Humayd who was not too reliable; *Al-Wāqidi* (3/889) through his own sources ending with his masters, some of whom were trustworthy, others weak, but he did not differentiate between them in narration, and Ibn Sa'd (2/154-155).

On the whole, the reports in this connection sound weak as traditions as discussed by Dr. Quraybi (166-176), but dependence upon them seems to be possible from historical point of view, as was the conclusion of Dr. Quraybi, p. 176 and his master Dr. Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 197

[19] It is said that the one who said this was Salamah bin Salāmah bin Waqsh. 'Abbās, Abu Bakr, the Prophet ﷺ and a young man from the *Ansār* have also been named as the one who said this. See Wāqidi: *Al-Maghāzi* (3/890); Haythami in *Kashful-Astār* (2/346-347); Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/124) and *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* of Bayhaqi (5/123) ... to the end. But all are weak reports as ruled by the experts, agreeing upon one point which is that one of the abovementioned made the above remark. They strengthen each other and are in turn strengthened by Allāh's Words in the Qur'ān: "*...and the day of Hunayn...*" See Ibn Jawzi's *Zādul-Masir* (3/414); *Tafsir Tabari* (10/100); *Muhammad Rasulullah* by Shaykh Muhammad Sadiq 'Urjun (4/367-370) and Dr. Quraybi, *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Hunayn*, pp. 210-219.

﴿وَيَوْمَ حُنَيْنٍ إِذْ أَعْجَبَتْكُمْ كَثْرَتُكُمْ فَلَمْ تُغْنِ عَنكُمْ شَيْئًا وَضَاقَتْ عَلَيْكُمُ الْأَرْضُ بِمَا رَحُبَتْ ثُمَّ وَلَّيْتُم مُّدْبِرِينَ﴾

"And (remember) the day of Hunayn when your numbers pleased you. But, it was of no avail to you whatsoever. The earth became narrow for you, despite its vastness, and then you fled backwards."[20, 21]

The Prophet ﷺ also told them the story of a Prophet whose people felt proud of their numbers, so Allāh (ﷻ) sent death upon them.[22]

When the Prophet ﷺ neared Hunayn, and the time of *'Isha'* prayers came, he ordered one of his Companions to stand guard over a mountain top that looked down on the Hunayn valley. He gave the Prophet ﷺ the news and informed him that the enemy had come out with women, children and cattle. The Prophet ﷺ smiled and said, "They shall be Muslim booty tomorrow—Allāh willing." When evening fell, Anas bin Abu Marthad the Ghanawi volunteered to guard over them until dawn. The Prophet ﷺ appreciated his offer and promised him Paradise.[23]

On the way, some of those who were pardoned on the day of the fall of Makkah saw a tree - known as *Dhāt Anwāt* – by which pagans used to hang their arms, seeking blessings. They suggested, "Declare for us a *Dhāt Anwāt* just as the pagans had a *Dhāt Anwāt*." He replied, "Glory to Allāh. This is similar to Musa's followers saying,

﴿اجْعَل لَّنَا إِلَٰهًا كَمَا لَهُمْ آلِهَةٌ﴾

'Make for us an idol just as they have idols.'[24]

[20] *Surat At-Tawbah: 25.*

[21] Reported by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/123) through a weak route. Others have reported him also through weak chains, but it is strengthened by the Verse, its explanations and the implied content of it pertaining to its time and place.

[22] *Sunan Ad-Dārimi* (5/135) and Ahmad in his *Musnad* (4/333) & (6/16).

[23] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (1/210) & (2/9) as a tradition Sahl bin Hanzaliyyah, through a reliable chain, as stated earlier, and as ruled by Ibn Hajar.

[24] *Surat Al-A'rāf*: 138.

By Him in Whose Hand is my life, you will follow the ways of those who went before you."[25] This incident tells us that these people were still very weak in Islam. Faith had not entered into their hearts yet because of their newness to Islam. In fact, it is reported that there were at least 80 of them who had in fact not yet declared their faith in Islam.[26] No wonder then that Kaladah bin Hanbal, Safwān bin Umaiyah's brother from the mother's side, who was also one of those pardoned on the day of fall of Makkah, should say when in the first round the Muslims fled, "The magic is off today." His brother, who was still a pagan said, "Shut up man. May Allāh shut your mouth. To me, it is better to be ruled by a Qurayshi than one of these Hawāzin people."[27] The former leaders of the Quraysh stood behind the army, waiting for the outcome of the battle. They were: Abu Sufyān, Safwān bin Umaiyah and Hākim bin Hizām.[28] Safwān was right behind everyone and ordered his slave to run up and down to bring in the latest news.[29]

Abu Sufyān was observing the battle when the Muslims faltered in the first round of the battle. He was holding a few arrows. He quipped, "This fleeing will not stop but by the sea."[30]

[25] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/120-121). Tirmidhi also reported by his route: *Sunan* (6/343/H. 2281/The Book of *Fitan*), whose words have been used here and about which he ruled: "A *Hasan-Sahih* report." Albāni agreed with him in his *Sahih Sunan Tirmidhi* (2/235). The *Hadith* was also reported by Ahmad in his *Musnad* (5/218) through a chain other than Ibn Ishāq; Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/125) similar to the narration of Ahmad and Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, p. 454, *Mawāriduz-Zamān* p. 454.

[26] Qastalāni: *Al-Mawāhibul-Ladunniyyah* (1/162) and Zurqāni in his commentary on it (3/5), but through a weak line.

[27] Haythami: *Al-Majma'* (6/179-180) who remarked: "Reported by Ahmad and Abu Ya'la. Ahmad's narrators are men of the *Sahih* works. Ibn Ishāq specifically mention his own hearing, as in the report of Abu Ya'la; and Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih*, as in *Al-Mawārid*, p. 417, and Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/128) both of them through the same route as of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain.

[28] A transmission of Musa bin 'Uqbah in *Al-Maghāzi* through Zuhri, *Mursal*, and a narration of Ibn Lahiy'ah, as in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/368).

[29] One of the narrations of 'Urwah.

[30] A narration of Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/122) and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/910).

The Hawāzin had arrived at Hunayn first. They left a portion of their forces in the valley and the rest they concealed behind hills, gorges, and narrow passes. The troops in the valley were ordered to rain down arrows on the Muslims as they entered into it, and then, before they could respond, attack them as one man.[31] He convinced them that the Muslims had never encountered their kind before in terms of numbers, courage, and fighting experience.[32]

The Prophet ﷺ prepared his army by morning and distributed the flags and standards. He arranged them in rows[33] and entered into the Hunayn valley in the darkness of the morning.[34] As they ascended into it, Khālid was leading the cavalry, which had Banu Sulaym in the forefront, since the time they had left Makkah.[35]

Upon entering the valley, the Muslims attacked the enemy and in the first volley, they fled. The Muslims began to gather booty. While they were thus engaged, the Hawāzin regathered and rained on them arrows that did not miss any.[36]

The Muslims had not expected this. The place became narrow for them and they fled: no one paying attention to anyone.[37] The Prophet ﷺ turned to his right and said, "Where are the people? Come back to me. I am the Messenger of Allāh. I am the Messenger of Allāh. I am Muhammad, 'Abdullah's son." How much the Muslims were prepared for this turn of events can be gauged from the fact that some of them had belittled the battle before it began and had come out poorly armed.[38]

The first to flee were the horsemen. They were followed by the foot soldiers. Those who were pardoned on the day of Makkan fall,

[31] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/121).

[32] *Al-Wāqidi* (3/893).

[33] *Al-Wāqidi* (3/895-897), who stands alone in giving the number of banners and the names of those who carried them from among the Arab tribes.

[34] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/121).

[35] *Al-Wāqidi: Al-Maghāzi* (3/896-897).

[36] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/144/H. 4317), *Muslim* (3/1400-1401/H. 1776).

[37] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/140/H. 4315), *Muslim* (3/1398/H. 1775-1776); Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/121-122).

[38] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/64/H. 2930), *Muslim* (3/1400-1401/H. 1776).

also fled, as also some of the Bedouins that had come along. It is said that no one remained with the Prophet ﷺ but Abu Sufyān bin Hārith ؓ,[39] and a small group of Muslims.[40]

Also, those that were freed at Makkah's fall played a major role

[39] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/64/H. 2930) & (16/140/H. 4315); *Muslim* (2/737/H. 1059); *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi*, summarized by Albāni (2/137) who called it trustworthy. It is understood from the narrations of *At-Tirmidhi*, *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim* that nobody remained in the battlefield except the Prophet ﷺ and Sufyān bin Hārith holding the white mule of the Prophet ﷺ by the head. But the biographers and war chroniclers, reported many opinions about the numbers that remained with the Prophet ﷺ when the Muslims were initially made to run. Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/141) said, "It is possible to reconcile the reports of the *Sahih* works with those of the biographers and war chroniclers to say that the Prophet ﷺ alone remained at the front, moving forward in the face of the enemy. As for those who remained with him, they were behind him. Or, he was single in combating the enemy directly, with Abu Sufyān bin Hārith and others were helping him on with the mule."
I might add that the confusion made it difficult for the fighters to reach the position at which the Prophet ﷺ was. It took them some time before they could reach him, man after man until the numbers reached a hundred, the rest were also stimulated by the Prophet's call through 'Abbās ؓ and so came up hastening from every side who organized their lines and reattacked the enemy.

[40] This is what some of the *Hadith* scholars and biographers have said. An example of what Ibn Ishāq reported is as follows: "...Except that only a few of the *Ansār*, the *Muhājir* and his family members remained with the Prophet ﷺ. Of those who remained of the *Muhājir* were Abu Bakr and 'Umar, and of his family: 'Ali, 'Abbās, Abu Sufyān bin Hārith, his son, Fadl son of 'Abbās, Rabi'ah bin Hārith, Usāmah, and Ayman bin Umm Ayman bin 'Ubayd: Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/122). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/141-142): "Ibn Abu Shaybah maintained through a *Mursal* report coming down from Hakam bin 'Utaybah that none but four remained with the Prophet ﷺ three from the Banu Hāshim and one outsider: 'Ali, 'Abbās in front of him, Abu Sufyān who was holding the mule's bridle and Ibn Mas'ūd by his side." However, Ahmad and Hākim maintained that no less than eighty of the *Ansār* and *Muhājir* remained with him ... and of those who mentioned that there remained with him others were Zubayr bin Bakkār and others. They named: Ja'far bin Abu Sufyān bin Hārith, Qutham bin 'Abbās, 'Utbah and Mua'ttib the two sons of Abu Lahab, 'Abdullah bin Zubayr, Nawfal bin Hārith bin 'Abdul-Muttalib, 'Aqil bin Abu Tālib, Shaybah bin 'Uthmān Hajji." Tirmidhi reported through a *Hasan* chain coming from Ibn 'Umar ؓ: "I

in the first round defeat. Umm Sulaym bint Milhān suggested to the Prophet ﷺ that he behead them all. She felt that they were the cause of the initial setback. But the Prophet ﷺ told her, "O Umm Sulaym. Allāh proved Himself sufficient, and was good to us."[41]

In the battlefield, the Prophet ﷺ was on his white mule called Duldul. He was prodding it forward. But Abu Sufyān held its stirrups while 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib held its reins preventing its forward movement. He showed exemplary courage in the face of his companions fleeing away from him.[42] He was on a mule, known for its slow movements. If he had to turn in a hurry, he could not have. Instead, he kept moving forward, and, on top of it, was pronouncing his identity which exposed him to greater danger. But, obviously, his reliance on Allāh was great. He was sure he would be helped and that his religion would prevail over all others of the world.[43]

He ordered his uncle 'Abbās, a man of loud voice, to call back the people, and told him to especially mention those that had been present at the Ridwān Pledge. When they heard being called, they ran back to him like a mother runs to her children. Then he called

saw myself on the day of Hunayn when the people fled that there were no more than a hundred people with the Prophet ﷺ." See Ibn Hajar's *Al-Fath* (16/141) and *Sahih Sunan Tirmidhi*, in brief, by Albāni (2/137) who said, "Trustworthy." Abu Nu'aym's *Dalā'il* (that I did not come across) has the details of the hundred who remained: thirty and some of the *Muhājir* and the rest of the *Ansār*. Also there remained of the women: Umm Sulaym and Umm Harithah (Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* 16/141). See also Ahmad in his *Musnad* (1/454) who presents the report of Ibn Mas'ud ؓ that there remained eighty. Haythami also mentioned this in *Al-Majma'* (6/180) and remarked: "Ahmad, Bazzār and Tabarāni documented it and Ahmad's narrators are the narrators of the *Sahih* works, except for Hārith bin Hasirah who was in any case reliable."

[41] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1442/H. 1089). Reports say that Umm Sulaym was carrying a dagger during the battle. When her husband Abu Talhah saw it and told the Prophet ﷺ about it, the Prophet ﷺ asked her the reason for carrying the dagger. She replied: "If any of the polytheists dare come close to me, I will thrust this in his stomach." The Prophet ﷺ smiled.

[42] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1398/H. 1775). And Ibn Hārith is Abu Sufyān bin Hārith, the Prophet's cousin.

[43] See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (4/70).

the *Ansār* and then the Banu Hārith bin Khazraj. In response, they rushed toward him saying, "Here we are, here we are." Another round of battle started.[44] The Prophet ﷺ came down from his mule and began to pray for Allāh's help.[45] He said, "I am a Prophet. This is no lie. I am the son of 'Abdul-Muttalib."[46] He began to fight and, following him, the Companions also renewed their fighting. In fact, during the fight they sought shelter behind him.[47] When those who had fled saw him fighting, and heard 'Abbās' voice calling them back, they too began to return. Some of them responded so fast that when one of them found his camel slow in response, he abandoned it and came running on foot back to the Prophet ﷺ. When the fighting intensified, the Prophet ﷺ said, "Now the oven is hot."[48] Then he took a handful of pebbles and tossed them on the pagans' faces saying, "Faces be darkened." None was left in the enemy line but who did not have dust in his eyes. They began to flee. The Prophet ﷺ was saying, "Be defeated, by the Lord of Muhammad." According to another tradition he said, "Be defeated, by the Lord of the Ka'bah," saying that twice.[49]

It is in the light of the early defeat, and the miraculous turning of scales in favor of the Muslims, that one may understand the following Verse. It said,

﴿ثُمَّ أَنزَلَ ٱللَّهُ سَكِينَتَهُۥ عَلَىٰ رَسُولِهِۦ وَعَلَى ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَأَنزَلَ جُنُودًا لَّمْ تَرَوْهَا
وَعَذَّبَ ٱلَّذِينَ كَفَرُوا۟﴾

[44] *Sahih Muslim* (3/1398/H. 1775); Ibn Ishāq using a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/125), and 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/380-381) with a reliable chain.

[45] Another of his supplication those moments was: "If You wished, You will not be worshipped after this day." Reported by Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (3/121) about which Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/366): "Its chain has mere three narrators and meet the conditions of the *Shaykhayn* although none of the six documented it by this route."

[46] See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/142/H. 4315), Muslim (3/1400/H. 1776).

[47] *Muslim* (3/1398-1399/H. 1775), Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/125).

[48] *Muslim* (3/1399/H. 1775), Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/125).

[49] *Muslim* (3/1399/H. 1775, 1777).

"Then Allāh sent down peace on His Messenger and on the believers. He sent down forces that you did not see, and punished the disbelievers."[50, 51]

One of the Hawāzin men admitted that when they wished to attack the Prophet ﷺ, a group of very handsome men came in between. They said, "Faces be darkened, return." With that they were defeated.[52]

Shaybah bin 'Uthmān narrated that when he thought of his father and uncle who were killed at Badr, it passed into his heart that he should use the opportunity to kill the Prophet ﷺ then and there. When he neared, he saw flames between himself and the Prophet ﷺ, resembling streaks of lightning. He feared for his life, and blinding his eyes with his hands, traced his steps backward. The Prophet ﷺ turned towards him and asked him to get near. When he went closer, he said, "O Allāh, drive away Satan from him." Allāh (ﷻ) instilled faith in his heart. The Prophet ﷺ asked him to go forward and fight the disbelievers.[53] According to another report Shaybah said, "O Messenger of Allāh. I see a beautiful horse." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "O Shaybah. No one but a disbeliever sees it." Then he placed his hand on his breast and said, three times, "O Allāh, guide Shaybah." With that his hatred for the Prophet ﷺ changed to love.[54]

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[50] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 26.

[51] See *Tafsir At-Tabari* (14/186-189) and *Tafsir* Ibn Kathir (4/70-72).

[52] Reported by Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 583, being a narration of Ja'far bin Sulaymān. He declared it as trustworthy. Wāqidi also reported (3/906-907) through another chain.

[53] Recorded by Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 583, as a narration of Walid bin Muslim. He remarked that it was a very Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) report. One of the narrators is Abu Bakr Hadhali who was weak; Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq* (6/350); Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/145); Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/124), and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/909-910) all of which point to the fact that the report has a basis. Reports in the *Sahih* works in reference to the tossing of the pebbles in the face of the enemies and their fleeing, also strengthen it. As for the report of Ja'far bin Sulaymān, it is fairly Perfect (*Jaiyid*).

[54] Recorded by Dhahabi in his *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 584, and Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/145-146) through Abu Bakr Hadhali who had been abandoned, and

Ibn Ishāq[55] has reported through Jubayr bin Mut'im what he saw before the defeat of his people. While they were fighting fiercely, a black shroud descended from the heavens. It landed in the valley and in a moment the valley was filled with black ants. He was sure they were angels, and felt sure his people will be defeated.

The pagans did not last long in the second round. By the end of the day they were fleeing, leaving behind plenty of dead and all their belongings.[56] The Prophet ﷺ ordered that they be chased and destroyed[57] so that they would not regroup and stage another attack. In addition, after the battle was over, he sent Abu 'Amir—'Ubayd bin Sulaym bin Haddār the Aslami—to Awtās[58] to fight those that had grouped under a man called Durayd bin Simmah. 'Āmir fought them until he was martyred. Abu Musa Ash'ari took over as the commander. Before dying, 'Āmir asked Abu Musa to convey his *Salām* to the Prophet ﷺ and request him to pray for him. Abu Musa continued with the battle until he had won and then returned to the Prophet ﷺ to deliver 'Āmir's message.[59] The Prophet ﷺ prayed for him.

According to one report, when the enemy was defeated, Durayd bin Simmah withdrew with six hundred men behind some hills. They were then confronted by the force under the command of Zubayr bin 'Awwām who killed three hundred of them including Durayd bin Simmah.[60]

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therefore, the chain is very weak.

[55] Reported by *Ibn Hisham* (4/131) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain which means it is weak.

[56] See for instance: Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/183-184).

[57] It is a narration of Bazzār in *Kashful-Astār* (2/349). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/181): "Bazzār recorded it, and its narrators are reliable."

[58] Awtās was a valley in the neighborhood of Hawāzin as in *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (1/281).

[59] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/156/H. 4323), *Muslim* (4/1943/H. 2498).

[60] *Kashful-Astār* (2/346-347). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (6/178): "Recorded by Bazzār. In his chain falls 'Ali bin 'Āsim who was termed weak because of his persistent errors and long indulgence in them. However, some have treated him reliable. The rest of the narrators are trustworthy." Ibn Hajar declared it *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (16/156).

What we believe is that Zubayr bin 'Awwām actually belonged to the battalion headed by Abu 'Āmir and killed Ibn Simmah. Bukhāri's report says nothing about who killed the man. However, another opinion is that he was killed by Rabi'āh bin Rufay'. A fourth opinion is that it was 'Abdullah bin Qunay' who finished him.[61]

In any case, the Hunayn battle ended in clear victory for the believers. It left the place filled with a great number of dead from the Hawāzin and Thaqif tribes. It is reported that Banu Mālik of the Thaqif itself lost seventy men.[62] However, none were killed from the Banu Ahlāf except two men, one of them from Banu Ghiyarah and the other from Banu Kubbah.[63] At Awtās, Banu Mālik lost three hundred men. Banu Nasr bin Mu'āwiyah also lost plenty of men. Next in losses were Banu Ri'āb. They numbered so many that 'Abdullah bin Qays, who was a Muslim, cried out, "O Messenger of Allāh, Banu Ri'āb are destroyed." The Prophet ﷺ prayed, "O Allāh, restore their losses."[64]

When the pagans took refuge in Awtās and the Muslims went after them, Abu 'Āmir alone killed nine of their men before he himself was martyred. Abu Musa Ash'ari killed two men of Jusham bin Mu'awiyah.[65] Abu Talhah alone killed twenty men at Hunayn and seized their arms, for the Prophet ﷺ had allowed

[61] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Mu'allaq* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/136, 138) who stressed the point.

[62] Bayhaqi documented it in his *Dalā'il* (5/142) and attributed it to Bukhāri in *Tārikh Al-Kabir*, coming from Abu 'Āsim. It says that of the Tā'ifians, the numbers killed on the day of Hunayn were as many as those killed at Badr.

I might point out that by the Tā'ifians the allusion is to the Thaqif. As for the number of pagans killed at Badr, we know that it was seventy: See Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/132). The *Hadith* was also reported by Tabari in his *Tārikh* (3/78) through a Faulty (*Mu'dal*) chain, for Ya'qub bin 'Utbah was one of the minors among the Followers.

[63] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/133).

[64] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/139); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/152), *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/916). Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd have it as 'Banu Rabāb', instead of 'Banu Ri'āb,' as it is in Ibn Ishāq.

[65] See *Ibn Hishām* through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain (4/142).

the Muslims to seize and own the belongings of those they killed.[66]

That day the Prophet ﷺ once again instructed his men not to kill women, children, hired servants and everyone who did not carry arms. That instruction he gave when he came across a dead woman's body killed by Khālid bin Walid,[67] surrounded by curious onlookers. He said, "Surely, this was not a fighter!"[68]

As regards the prisoners and the booty, it is said that the prisoners reached the figure of six thousand, mostly women and children,[69] and that the wealth the pagans left behind amounted to four thousand *Uqiyyah* of silver, twenty-four thousand camels and forty thousand goats.[70]

The Prophet ﷺ ordered the prisoners and the booty to be held at Ji'rānah in order to attend to them after his Tā'if expedition.

[66] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (3/162/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2718), who remarked, "This *Hadith* is of *Hasan* status." Hākim (2/130) also documented with the remark: "Trustworthy, judged by the conditions set by Muslim, although the two did not record it." Dhahabi had no comments to offer. As for the permission for the slayer to take what is on pagan's body he killed in a battle, this is in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/150/H. 4312).

[67] Ibn Ishāq through a *Munqati'* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/143-144).

[68] A narration of Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/122) where he declared it trustworthy with Dhahabi agreeing to it; Ahmad in the *Musnad*: *Ar-Rabbāni* (14/64); Abu Dāwud in *Sunan* (13/121-122/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2269); Busiri in *Al-Misbāh* (2/418) where he said: "This is an authentic chain. Muraqqi' bin Sayfi is one of those Ibn Hibbān listed among the reliable ones and I have not come across anyone questioning his status." Thus, the *Hadith* can be treated as *Hasan*. because of Muraqqi'. As such, *Hadith* literature prohibits killing of these classes. Said Da'ās the verifier of Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* that Ibn Mājah also documented this tradition (2882) and Mundhiri has attributed it to Nasa'i also.

[69] 'Abdur-Razzāq in *Al-Musannaf* (5/381); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/155), as a narration of Zuhri from Ibn Musaiyab, Disconnected (*Mursal*); Dhahabi: *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 606, also as a narration of Zuhri from Ibn Musaiyab, (*Mursal*); Tabari: *Tārikh* (43/82) as a narration of Ibn Hishām and 'Urwah from his father, *Mursal*, and Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/183).

[70] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/152) as a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report. Ibn Ishāq said about camels and sheep that their numbers were unknown—*Ibn Hishām* (4/183).

It is reported that of those captured, Shayma' bint Hārith was one. She claimed that she was the Prophet's foster sister. The Prophet ﷺ asked for proof. "A mark of your bite on my back when I was carrying you," she said. The Prophet ﷺ recognized it and sent her back to her family.[71]

It is also reported that his foster mother – Halimah Sa'diyyah- went to see him. He received her with great respect, laying down his cloak for her to sit on.[72]

Amazingly, Muslim losses were few. In all they lost four men: Abu 'Āmir Aslami, Ayman bin 'Ubayd, Yazid bin Zam'ah bin Aswad and Surāqah bin Hārith.[73] A few others were injured: Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Ali,[74] 'Abdullah bin Awfa[75] and Khālid bin Walid.[76]

The Hawāzin, Thaqif and other tribesmen dispersed into the mountains. As for Thaqif, they took refuge in their forts at Tā'if, still under the command of Mālik bin 'Awf. Others spread into the Awtâs valley. Banu Ghiyarah sought refuge in Nakhlah. Muslims chased them there. But no one went after those who went into Thanāya.[77]

[71] Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain – *Ibn Hisham* (4/144); Dhahabi: *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 610, as a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Qatadah. The transmission chain has Hakam bin 'Abdul-Malik whom Ibn Ma'in declared weak. Ref. *Tārikh* (2/152/H. 1322) where he said, "He is worthless."

[72] Tabari: *Tafsir* (10/101), as a *Mursal* report of Qatādah through a *Hasan* chain; Ibn 'Abdul-Barr: *Al-Isti'āb* (4/270), as a *Mursal* report of 'Ata' bin Yasār; Bukhāri: *Al-Adabul-Mufrad* (440); Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (5/353-354/ The Book of *Al-Adab*; Dhahabi: *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 610, as a narrative of Abu Tufayl. However, the chain has some unknown narrators; Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/618) where he declared it *Sahih*; Abu Dāwud: *Al-Marāsil*, through a Faulty (*Mu'dal*) chain as in Ibn Kathir's *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/408) where he noted: "*Hadith* literature reports that his foster parents met him. Allāh knows best the correctness of the report."

[73] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) – *Ibn Hishām* (4/145).

[74] Bazzār: *Kashful-Astār* by Haythami (2/346). Ibn Hajar declared its chain as *Hasan* in *Al-Fath* (16/156/explanation of H. 4323). He described its text as containing some Denounced (*Munkar*) material. See his work: *Mukhtasar Zawā'idil-Bazzār*, pp. 49-50, *Hadith* No. 816.

[75] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/139-140/H. 4314).

[76] Humaydi: *Al-Musnad* (2/398) through a reliable chain.

[77] Ibn Ishāq a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) report – *Ibn Hishām* (4/136).

Tā'if Expedition

After having chased away the defeated men of Hawāzin, Awtās and Nakhlah, the Muslims next turned their attention to Thaqif who had fled from Hunayn and Awtās and taken refuge in Tā'if forts. These were well-built and well defended forts. They gathered enough food to last them for a year and locked themselves in. They dispatched 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd and Ghaylān bin Salamah to Jurash to learn how to manufacture wooden armored carriers, catapults and other simple tools of defense. That was the reason why 'Urwah and others were not with their people[78] when the Muslims attacked their people.

The Muslims reached Tā'if forts after about a week of Shawwāl had passed, as it works out from various reports.[79] First they camped at the foot of the forts. Subsequently they shifted backwards to be out of range of the arrows. But, before they could do that, the enemy rained down arrows on them, which resulted in the martyrdom of twelve men while quite a few were injured.[80] In their new location they built a mosque, that lasts to this day, called as 'Masjid 'Abdullah bin 'Abbās'. Tā'if was in the south-western side of the mosque.[81]

While the battle of arrows was going on, the Muslims tried to reach the foot of the forts in order to make a hole in its wall. They used simple wooden carriers, inside which the soldiers hid themselves to escape being hit by arrows. When the Thaqif men saw that, they threw flames on the vehicles setting them on fire, and,

[78] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq* – *Ibn Hishām* (4/170-171), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/158), *Mu'allaq*. And *Mu'allaq* chains are weak.

[79] It has been mentioned earlier that they reached Hunayn on the tenth of Shawwāl; the battle took place on the eleventh; they kept chasing the defeated army for almost a week; then they marched to Tā'if through following a long route. So they must have reached it by the end of the third week.

[80] Ibn Ishāq using a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of 'Amr bin Shu'ayb – *Ibn Hishām* (4/175-176), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/158), *Mu'allaq*. The latter mentioned the numbers that were killed while the former did not.

[81] Bilādi: *Mu'jamul-Ma'alimil-Jughrāfiyah fis-Sirah*, pp. 213-214, 316.

as the Muslims emerged from them, they sent volleys of arrows on them killing a number of them.[82]

The Muslims also used simple catapults, to be the first to use them in Islam.[83] They were encouraged by the Prophet ﷺ who said, "Whoever hit the target will have Paradise."[84]

Reports, although weak, give us the details of those who made these apparatuses and who operated them. Khālid bin Sa'eed has been named. Other reports say it was Salman Fārisi. Yet other reports name Tufayl bin 'Amr.[85]

In order to weaken the Thaqif people, the Muslims began to burn down their date-palm trees and grape orchards. The Thaqif pleaded that they be spared as an act of mercy. The Muslims obliged.[86]

The Prophet's caller announced that whosoever of the slaves abandoned the fort and came down, would be set free. Accordingly, twenty-three slaves left the fort. One of them was Abu Bakrah–

[82] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (4/176-177).

[83] See *Ibn Hishām*–through a *Munqati'* chain (4/176), and Abu Dāwud: *Al-Marāsil*, p. 37, through a trustworthy chain reaching Makhul, and through another route reaching 'Ikrimah the freed-slave of Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ. Shāfi'i used this incident for juridical purposes in his *Al-Umm* (4/161).

[84] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/113, 384) using an authentic line of narration wherein Qatādah specifically mentions having heard the *Hadith*; Bayhaqi: *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/161); *Tirmidhi*: *Sunan* (5/354/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 1637 - 1638), where he said, "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* (Good & Sound) narrative," and Nasa'i: *Sunan* (6/27/The Book of *Jihād*).

[85] Wāqidi mentioned at one point (3/923, 927) that it was Salmān Fārisi who constructed the catapult, but at another point that it was Tufayl bin 'Amr who brought the wooden carriers and catapults when he returned from his special mission to destroy the idol that belonged to 'Amr bin Hamamah the one known as Dhul-Kaffayn. Then he recounted other opinions using terms of uncertainty such as to say, "It is alleged that it was Yazid bin Zam'ah who had brought the catapults and the two armored wooden vehicles. It is also said it was Tufayl bin 'Amr or Khālid bin Sa'eed coming from Jurash."

[86] Bayhaqi: *Sunan* (9/84) through a chain that disconnects at Musa bin 'Uqbah and 'Urwah in which there are quite a few unknown narrators; Ibn Ishāq recorded a *Mursal* report of 'Amr bin Shu'ayb–*Ibn Hishām* (4/177).

Nufay' bin Masruh– the Thaqafi. They were all set free and not returned to Thaqif after they had become Muslims.[87]

When the Prophet ﷺ perceived that the fort was well defended, that he had already lost twelve men,[88] while the pagans lost only three,[89] he ordered the siege lifted. The Muslims did not like it and hesitated. However, when more of them were injured, he repeated his call to lift the siege which they now readily accepted. The Prophet ﷺ smiled and they began to withdraw.[90] When he was asked to curse the Thaqif,[91] he prayed, "O Allāh! Guide the Thaqif."[92]

There are different reports giving different figures about how

[87] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/161/H. 4326, 4327), who did not mention that they embraced Islam; 'Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (5/301 H. 9682); Tabarāni as in *Al-Majma'* (4/245) who said, "Its narrators are those of the *Sahih* works;" *Ibn Sa'd* (2/158-159), *Mu'allaq*, and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/931): according to the two they were totally thirteen in number. Wāqidi mentioned the names of seven of them along with their chiefs.

Nufay' bin Masruh was nicknamed Abu Bakrah because he came down the fort wall by a pulley.

[88] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (4/179); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/159), *Mu'allaq*; *Al-Wāqidi* (3/932); and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (1/236, 243, 248). In this last mentioned report there falls Hajjāj bin Artāt: a reliable man who employed *'an'anah* (so-and-so) instead of names.

[89] See Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (4/180-182) who named them and traced their origin.

[90] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/159-160/H. 4325), *Muslim* (3/1402-1403/H. 1778).

[91] Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (9/423/H. 3937/The Book of *Manāqib*) who said, "*Hasan-Sahih-Gharib* (Good, sound & Unfamiliar)." Albāni said while commenting on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghāzali, p. 432, that the *Hadith* is *Sahih* by the conditions set by Muslim, if not for Abu Zubayr, a narrator who used the terms 'from so-and-so.' See also *Ibn Sa'd* (2/159), *Mu'allaq*; Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq–Ibn Hishām* (4/183) who added, "...and bring them." The narrative of 'Urwah through Ibn Lahiy'ah, through Abul-Aswad, *Mursal*, as said Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 596, says, "O Allāh guide them and suffice us their provision."

[92] Being a narrative of 'Urwah through Ibn Lahiy'ah, through Abul-Aswad, and a narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah through his cousin truncated – as in *Al-Maghāzi* of Dhahabi, p. 592, and the narration of *Ibn Sa'd* (2/195) quoting Hasan Basri, *Mursal*, and Ibn Ishāq, *Mursal–Ibn Hishām* (4/178).

many days the siege lasted. 'Urwah and Ibn 'Uqbah[93] say it was a little more than ten days. 'Urwah himself said in another report that it was fifteen days.[94] Ibn Ishāq[95] stated two figures: a little more than twenty days and thirty days.[96] Ibn Hisham[97] said it was seventeen days. Muslim[98] and Ahmad[99] said that it lasted forty days.

However, a study of various incidents and reports leads us to believe that Musa bin 'Uqbah and 'Urwah bin Hishām are the most accurate.

From there the Prophet ﷺ returned to Ji'rānah where he had left the undivided prisoners, goods and cattle. Upon his return he did not divide the booty immediately. Rather, he divided only a part of the silver,[100] postponing the division of the rest for some ten days hoping that the Hawāzin would come to him and embrace Islam.[101] When that did not happen, he divided the booty among the *Muhājir* and those whose hearts had to be won from among the pagans. He did not give anything to the *Ansār*. He gave a hundred camels each to 'Uyaynah bin Hisn – a chieftain of the Ghatafān, to Aqra' bin

[93] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/157), and *Sunan Al-Kubra* (9/84) via a *Mursal* chain. There are two in the chains whose identities are not known. One 'Urwah Abu 'Ulāthah—Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Khālid—and the second Musa bin 'Uqbah Abu 'Attab—Muhammad bin 'Abdullah.

[94] Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/82) through a *Mursal–Hasan* (Fair & Disconnected) chain.

[95] See *Ibn Hishām* (4/176) a *Mursal* chain through 'Amr bin Shu'ayb.

[96] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/169) through a *Mursal–Hasan* chain reaching up to his two masters both of whom did not name the next narrator.

[97] *As-Sirat* (4/176) *Mu'allaq*, and indicating weakness by saying, 'it is reported.'

[98] *Sahih Muslim* (2/736/H. 1059) a report of Sumayt.

[99] *Al-Musnad* (3/157) a report of Sumayt. However, Ibn Kathir did not agree with this period saying, "They laid siege for a month and around twenty days,"—*Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (4/399).

[100] Hākim: *Al-Mustadrak* (2/121) who declared it *Sahih* but Dhahabi maintained his silence.

[101] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/146/H. 4318, 4319), Dhahabi reported this *Hadith* in *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 605, wherein it is stated that he gave them ninety days. But we did not find this information in any *Sahih* published works. *Al-Wāqidi* (3/958) said that it was thirteen days.

Hābis—a leader of the Tamim, to 'Alqamah bin 'Ulāthah, and to 'Abbās bin Umaiyah—all leaders of the Quraysh.[102] Ibn Ishāq[103] names twelve men who received a hundred camels each. Of them Bukhāri and Muslim mentioned six. Mu'āwiyah bin Abu Sufyān, Hārith bin Hārith, Mālik bin 'Awf, 'Ala bin Jāriyah, Hārith bin Hishām and Huwaytib bin 'Abdul-'Uzza are some others that Ibn Ishāq mentioned. He did not mention some of those that Bukhāri and Muslim have named, such as, 'Alqamah bin 'Ulāthah and 'Abbās bin Mirdās. He also mentioned five of those who were given less than a hundred camels each.[104]

Ibn Hishām[105] recorded twenty-nine names of those that were given shares from the Hunayn booty. He did not mention the number of camels they received. Other historians put the figure as fifty-seven.[106]

The wisdom of the action with regard to those whose hearts had to be won, was explained to the *Ansār* when they got angry by this division in which they themselves had been denied any share. The Prophet ﷺ heard from a few new Muslims among them saying, "When it is hard times we are called up. But the booty goes to others." Or maybe they said, "May Allāh forgive the Messenger. He gives to the Quraysh, denying us, while our swords are still dripping their blood."[107] He got them collected and addressed them saying, "Are you not satisfied that the people should take the goods of this world but you take to your home the Messenger of Allāh?" They replied, "Indeed, O Messenger of Allāh, we are satisfied." He said, "If the people entered into one valley and the *Ansār* into another, I shall enter into the *Ansār* valley."[108] According to another

[102] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/171/H. 4335), *Muslim* (2/737/H. 1060). See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/172).

[103] *Ibn Hishām* (4/190) a *Mu'allaq* report.

[104] *Ibn Hishām* (4/190-191) *Mu'allaq*.

[105] *Sirat* (4/192-194) through a *Munqati'* chain, for he did not name who transmitted to him. The rest of the narrators were trustworthy.

[106] See Dr. Quraybi: *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Hunayn*, p. 649.

[107] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/237/H. 3147), *Muslim* (2/733-735/H. 1059).

[108] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/170/H. 4331-4334, 4337); *Muslim* (2/735-736/H. 1059); Ibn Ishāq, through a chain *Hasan li Dhātihi* – *Ibn Hishām* (4/200).

report he said, "Are you not satisfied that they drive away goats and camels with them, but you take the Messenger of Allāh as you travel back? The *Ansār* are the core of Islam while the others are the outer (skin). If not for *Hijrah*, I would have been one of the *Ansār*..."[109] He also said, "I give to some people because of the fear of their complaints, and leave others to Allāh's trust relying on the good that Allāh has created in their hearts, such as 'Amr bin Taghlib." At that 'Amr bin Taghlib spoke out, "I don't wish that I have red camels[110] instead of the words that the Prophet spoke." The Prophet ﷺ also said, "I give to people who are freshly out from paganism."[111] According to another report, "The Quraysh are very close to paganism and a source of difficulties. I wish to soften their hearts."[112] He also said, "Do you O *Ansār* find yourself disturbed because of the wealth and goods that I used for softening the hearts of the people so that they might become Muslims? As for you, I left you to your Islam.. O Allāh, show mercy to the *Ansār*, their children and their grand children."[113] He also said, "I give a man while another is dearer to me, in fear that the man will fall face down into the Fire."[114]

When the *Ansār* heard his words they realized the wisdom and cried until their beards were wet. They said, "We are satisfied with the Prophet's distribution and our share in it."[115]

The wisdom became all the more apparent when those people whose hearts were softened, became sincere in their religion and went out in *Jihād*, except for a few of them who stayed back, such

[109] *Muslim* (2/739/H. 1061).
[110] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/236-237/H. 3145).
[111] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/238/H. 3147), *Muslim* (2/733-734/H. 1059).
[112] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/171/H. 4334), *Muslim* (2/735/H. 1059).
[113] Being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/19), Bukhāri reported the supplication in *Al-Fath* (261) as well as *Muslim* (4/1948/H. 2506) and Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/173-174). Thus it gains strength from the surrounding evidences mentioned here, with minor differences when compared to Bukhāri.
[114] *Muslim* (2/733/H. 1050).
[115] *Muslim* (2/734/H. 1059), Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/200). The original *Hadith* is in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/169/H. 4331) and *Muslim* (2/734/H. 1059).

as, 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fizāri and Aqra' bin Hābis. Imam Mālik[116] has said, "Although a man entered into Islam only for material gains, it happened that he became as one to whom Islam was dearer than this world and all that it contains." Safwān bin Umaiyah remarked about the transformation that took place in him because of the policy adopted by the Prophet ﷺ with regard to bestowals, "By Allāh, the Prophet gave me what he gave me while he was the most hated of men to me. But he kept giving me until he became the most beloved of men."[117] Hakim bin Hizām was one of those who kept asking as he was given. Finally, the Prophet ﷺ told him, "O Hakim. Wealth is green and sweet. Whoever took it with a large heart will have blessings accompanying it. But he who took it in greed will not be blessed therewith. He will be like a man who eats but doesn't feel satisfied. And, the upper hand is better than the lower hand." Hakim responded by saying, "By Him Who sent you with the Truth, I shall not ask anyone anything after you, until I leave this world." Accordingly, he did not accept anything from the state treasury after the death of the Prophet ﷺ.[118]

However, some of the Bedouins did not appreciate the wisdom behind the division of booties. One of them chided the Prophet, "Be just, O Muhammad." The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Woe unto you man. Who can ever do justice if I didn't? You are lost if I didn't do justice." 'Umar ؓ sought his permission to behead the man. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Allāh's refuge that the people should say, 'Muhammad slaughters his own followers.'"[119] People jostled around him as he was distributing the booty until his cloak got caught in a thorny tree. He said, "Give me my cloak. If the leaves of this tree were camels, I would have distributed them all between you. You will not find me miserly, lying or cowardly." One of them

[116] *Muslim* (4/1807/H. 2312).
[117] *Muslim* (4/1806/H. 2313).
[118] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/235/H. 3143), *Muslim* (2/717/H. 1035). It seems Dr. 'Umari committed an error when he mentioned Safwān bin Umaiyah instead of Hākim bin Hizām—see *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, p. 616.
[119] *Muslim* (2/740/H. 1063) and Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/195). He mentioned the name of the person as Dhul-Khuwaysirah Tamimi.

pulled him by his cloak so hard that it left a mark on his neck and said, "Order them to give me out of Allāh's wealth in your possession." The Prophet ﷺ turned to him, smiled and ordered that he be given.[120] This behavior on the part of the Bedouins was a clear proof that they had gone into the battle only for booty. On the other hand, the Prophet ﷺ provided proof of his patience, wisdom and the kind of efforts he put in to train coarse people of their sort.

It was only after the Prophet ﷺ had distributed the booty that the Hawāzin delegation came up to him declaring their faith in Islam. They requested that their wealth, women and children be returned to them. He asked them to choose between their wealth and families. They chose their families. The Prophet ﷺ consulted his Companions. Then he announced, "Whosoever wishes to retain them may do it. But whoever wishes that we give him from the next booty that we obtain, may return them." The people said, "We prefer the latter course." He said, "We can't be sure who said yes and who said no. So return and let your chiefs come back with the people's consent." So the people consulted each other and their chiefs went back to the Prophet ﷺ and told him that they had decided to free the prisoners without future recompense.[121] Except for Aqra' bin Hābis who spoke on behalf of his tribe Tamim, and 'Uyaynah bin Hisn who spoke in the name of his tribe Fazārah. The Prophet ﷺ promised them that he would compensate them for freeing captives in their hands.[122]

The Prophet ﷺ inquired about 'Awf bin Mālik and told his people to inform him that if he showed up as a Muslim he would return him his dependents, property and will, in addition, give him a hundred camels. When his people informed him that, he tried to escape from Tā'if, fearful that the Thaqif will kill him. Ultimately he presented himself to the Prophet ﷺ, either in Ji'rānah or Makkah. The Prophet ﷺ gave him what he had promised. He became a Muslim, and a sincere one. The Prophet ﷺ made him chief over

[120] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/238/H. 3148-3149).

[121] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/219/H. 3131, 3132).

[122] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/185). Others have also recorded it.

others of his tribes that had embraced Islam. Commanding them, he later fought against his pagan tribe.[123]

Some other chiefs of the Thaqif showed interest in Islam such as, 'Urwah bin Mas'ūd Thaqafi. He joined the Prophet ﷺ while he was in his return journey after his *'Umrah* to Madinah. He declared his faith in Islam, returned to his people and invited them to Islam. But they killed him. He was buried—following his will—among the martyrs that fell when Tā'if was under siege.[124]

After the Prophet's return from Tabuk in Ramadān of the ninth year, the Thaqif delegation came to him announcing their Islam. We shall have more to say about this later.

Important Rules derived from Hunayn and Tā'if Expeditions

1. Legality of sex with a captive woman, after the menstrual period. Its legality was announced when the Prophet ﷺ was asked in connection with the captives of Awtās. It was then that the Verse came,

﴿وَٱلْمُحْصَنَٰتُ مِنَ ٱلنِّسَآءِ إِلَّا مَا مَلَكَتْ أَيْمَٰنُكُمْ﴾

"And (forbidden are) married women excepting those your right hands own."[125, 126]

2. Prohibition of killing women, children, old men and hired servants who do not enter into the fighting arena against the

[123] Ibn Ishaq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/187), Tabarāni, through Ibn Ishāq as in *Al-Majma'* (6/189). It narrators are reliable. Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/88-89), also through Ibn Ishāq with a complete chain. However, one of the narrators is Ibn Humayd who suffered some weakness. Further, Ibn Ishāq did not specifically mention the hearing. The rest of the narrators are trustworthy. Also reported by Musa bin 'Uqbah in his *Al-Maghāzi* as in *Al-Isabāh* (3/352), and Abul-Aswad through 'Urwah in *Al-Maghāzi* of Ibn 'Ā'idh, in brief and *Mursal* as in *Al-Isābah* (3/352).

[124] Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq—Ibn Hishām* (4/346-347).

[125] *Surat An-Nisa'*: 24.

[126] Look for commentary on it in the *Tafsir* of Ibn Kathir (2/223-224).

Muslims.[127]

3. Execution of Allāh's punishments for crimes in the land of the disbelievers. The Prophet ﷺ did that to someone who drank wine in Hunayn.[128]

4. Prohibition of eunuchs from entry upon women not closely related to them. That happened when the Prophet ﷺ heard one of the eunuchs in Umm Salamah's tent describing Bādiyah, the daughter of Ghaylān of Thaqif, to her brother Abdullah, encouraging him to seek her (as a slave). That was before the Tā'if siege. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Let not this class of people enter upon you."[129]

5. The legality of bestowing gifts on those whose softening of heart is expected as a result, when the leader of the Muslim sees that it could help their entry into Islam, or plug the evil in them, or for any reason beneficial to the Muslims.

6. The legality of starting for *'Umrah* from Ji'rānah within Makkah, as did the Prophet ﷺ after his distribution of Hunayn booty.[130] As for going out to Ji'rānah from inside Makkah, for wearing the *Ihram*, as the common people do, that is not *Sunnah.*[131]

7. The legality stood confirmed that a killer could keep back the

[127] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/488). Albāni ruled its chain as *Hasan* in *Irwa'* (5/35); *Al-Hākim* (2/123) who declared it trustworthy and to which Dhahabi agreed; See Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (3/121, 122, 124/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2669, 2672).

[128] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/350), Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (4/627-628/H. 4487, 4488) about which the two verifiers said: "Both these routes suffer an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain." I might point out that the first version did not specify the name of the campaign, doing it in the second narration. This *Hadith* was also reported by Dārāqutni in *Sunan* (3/157-158) whose chain has 'Abdullah bin 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Zahir, who was, in any case, acceptable.

[129] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/158-159/H. 4334), *Muslim* (4/1715/H. 2180) and others.

[130] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/86/H. 1778), *Muslim* (3/916/H. 1253) and others.

[131] See Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/504).

belongings of a man he slain in Islamic *Jihād.*

8. The legality of using war equipment owned by the pagans as did the Prophet ﷺ when he borrowed coats of mail from Safwān bin Umaiyah, on condition that such borrowing does not have any negative effect on the war.

9. The legality of using catapult despite the fact that the missiles might hit women and children.[132]

10. Legality of cutting down trees belonging to the pagans, if that weakens them, or angers them, which can be more damaging to them.

11. It is the demand of mercy that one pray for the guidance of the enemy that might have killed the Muslims, as did the Prophet ﷺ with the people of Tā'if, the Thaqif.

12. It is not allowed to leave the pagan idols intact, despite the power to demolish them. They are the most detestable[133] things in Islam and should be destroyed without delay as did the Prophet ﷺ in connection with the Dhul-Kaffayn for whose demolition he sent Abu Musa Ash'ari. We shall have more to say on this topic later.

13. The Wajj valley in Tā'if is not part of the Haram area. The *Ahādith* that speak of it as Haram are weak.[134]

[132] For articles 5, 6 and 7, see Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Mā'ad* (3/503-506).

[133] See Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/503-506).

[134] See Dr. 'Umari: *Al-Mujtama' Al-Madni: Al-Jihād*, footnote, pp. 221-222.

Expeditions and Events between Tā'if and Tabuk Expeditions

Tufayl bin 'Amr's Expedition to Dhul-Kaffayn

Before starting for Tā'if, the Prophet ﷺ had sent Tufayl bin 'Amr to Dhul-Kaffayn, an idol worshiped by 'Amr bin Humamah of Daws. Ibn 'Amr was to demolish it. He ordered him to seek his own tribe's help in the affair and then join him up at Tā'if. Ibn 'Amr hastened to his tribe and then went up and burned down Dhul-Kaffayn. Thereafter, he recruited four hundred of his men and joined the Prophet ﷺ four days after he had been at Tā'if. He brought with him wooden armored carriers and catapults.[1]

Ka'b bin Zuhayr's Islam after the Prophet's Departure from Tā'if

Ka'b bin Zuhayr bin Abu Sulma Muzani was a renowned poet of the time. His father was Zuhayr bin Abu Sulma, one of the seven whose poems were hung on the Ka'bah door. He was one of those who used to spin out satires aimed at the Prophet ﷺ. His and his brother Bujayr's story has been recorded by Ibn Ishāq[2] and

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[1] Ibn Sa'd (2/157) *Mu'allaq*, picking up a narration from his master *Al-Wāqidi* (3/922-923).

[2] *Ibn Hishām* (4/201 and the following pages), through a *Munqati'* chain, for 'Āsim bin 'Umar did not name his preceding narrator. See the ode called

Bayhaqi[3] with unbroken chain of narrators. It says that Ka'b went out with his brother Bujayr and when they reached Abraqul-'Azzāf[4] his brother told him to stay put there until he went up to Muhammad ﷺ to hear what he had to say. When he came, the Prophet ﷺ presented Islam to him. He became a Muslim. When Ka'b came to know that his brother had embraced Islam, he felt disappointed and said the following lines (as translated by A. Guillaume):

Give Bujayr a message from me:
Do you accept what I said, confound you?
Tell us plainly if you don't accept what I say
For what reason other than that has led you
To a religion I cannot find his fathers ever held
And you cannot find that your father followed?
If you don't accept what I say I shall not grieve
Nor say if you stumble 'God help you!'
Al-Ma'mun has given you a full cup of drink
And added a second draught of the same.

(By *Al-Ma'mun*, he was referring to the Prophet ﷺ, who was nicknamed as *Al-Amin* by the Makkans—*Translator*.)

When the Prophet ﷺ heard of these lines he declared the impunity he had granted him earlier null and void. So his brother wrote to him to take care of himself. He wrote a second letter to him informing him that the Prophet ﷺ accepted anyone who came to him in submission. He advised him to embrace Islam. Convinced, Ka'b bin Zuhayr became a Muslim. After that he wrote a poem praising the Prophet ﷺ. He came to the Prophet ﷺ who granted him peace. He read out his poem to him. The first line said,

Su'ad is gone, and today my heart is lovesick,
In thrall to her, unrequited, bound with chains.[5]

'Banat Su'ad' with him and with Dhahabi in his *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. 618-621).

[3] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/207 and the following pages). The chain carries three narrators whose biographies were not written: Dhur-Ruqaybah, Hajjāj bin Dhur-Ruqaybah and 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Ka'b bin Zuhayr.

[4] A place near Madinah.

[5] 'Irāqi said as in *Naylul-Awtār* of Shawkāni (2/159-160): "This ode we have received through various sources none of which are reliable. Ibn Ishāq

Musa bin 'Uqbah has written in his *Al-Maghāzi*[6] that Ka'b bin Zuhayr recited the poem praising the Prophet ﷺ inside the mosque. When he reached the lines:

Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought
A drawn Indian sword, one of the swords of Allāh.
Amongst a band of Quraysh, whose spokesman said
When he professed Islam in the valley of Makkah, 'Departye.'

The Prophet ﷺ signaled to the people that they could enter to hear him.

Sā'āti[7] wrote: "Abu Bakr bin Anbāri has said that when Ka'b bin Zuhayr reached the words:

Truly the Messenger is a light whence illumination is sought
A drawn Indian sword, one of the swords of Allāh.

the Prophet ﷺ cast his own cloak on him. (Hence the name of the poem *Qasidah Burdah—Translator*) He also mentioned that years later, Mu'āwiyah offered 10,000 to Ka'b for the cloak. But Ka'b said, "I will not prefer anyone over myself for the Prophet's cloak." When Ka'b was dead, Mu'āwiyah offered his dependents 20,000 and managed to obtain it. It remains with the Sultans to this day."

Zakāt Collectors

In the ninth year after *Hijrah*, the Prophet ﷺ began to send his deputies all over the country to collect *Zakāt*. He sent

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recorded through a broken chain."

[6] This was mentioned by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/411). However, its chain is *Mursal*. Further it has Muhammad bin Fulayh who was himself trustworthy but who was given to doubts.

[7] *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/187).

The story of Ka'b embracing Islam was reported by Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/579-583) where he said, "This *Hadith* has no chain of narration attached to it. It is Ibrāhim bin Mundhir who gathered it together." Dhahabi held his peace here. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/419) about the Prophet ﷺ giving Ka'b his cloak: "This is one of the well-known incidents. Yet, I have not come across anything in any of the famous books regarding its chain what I would feel comfortable with. Allāh knows best."

Buraydah bin Husayb to Aslam and Ghifār, (some say Ka'b bin Mālik); 'Abbād bin Bishr Ashhali to Sulaym and Muzaynah, Rāfi' bin Makith to Juhaynah; 'Amr bin 'Ās to Fazārah; Dahhāk bin Sufyan Kilābi to Banu Kilāb; Bishr bin Sufyān Ka'bi to Banu Ka'b (some say, Nu'aim bin 'Abdullah Nahhām 'Adawi); Ibn Lutbiyyah Azdi to Banu Dhubyān, a man from Banu Sa'd bin Hudhaym[8] to the same tribe; Muhājir bin Abu Umaiyah to San'ā', Ziyād bin Labid to Hadramawt; 'Adi bin Hātim Tā'i to Tay' and Asad; Mālik bin Nuwayrah to Banu Hanzalah; Zibriqān bin Badr and Qays bin 'Āsim to Banu Sa'd; both of them in different directions; 'Alā bin Hadrami to Bahrain and 'Ali bin Abu Tālib to Najrān.[9]

'Uyaynah bin Hisn bin Hudhayfah bin Badr's Expedition to Banu 'Anbar

The Prophet sent 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fazāri to Banu 'Anbar of the Tamim tribe in the Muharram of the 9th year after *Hijrah*, along with fifty horsemen, none of whom were from the *Muhājir* or the *Ansār*. When they reached the enemy territory, they fled. 'Uyaynah and his men captured eleven men. In another place they found ten women and thirty children. They took them as captive and brought them to Madinah. The Prophet ﷺ instructed that they be held in the quarters of Ramlah bint Hārith. Several of their men went up to see them, such as 'Utārid bin Hājib, Zibriqān bin Badr, Qays bin 'Āsim and Aqra' bin Hābis. When those women and children saw their men, they began to weep. So the men went up to the Prophet's chambers and began to shout: "O Muhammad! Come out." He came out and ordered Bilal to call out for prayers. They began to plead the case of the prisoners. He offered the noon prayers and then sat down in the yard of the mosque. 'Utārid bin Hājib was asked to speak on their behalf, which he did. Thābit bin Qays

[8] Wāqidi: *Al-Maghāzi* (3/973), through his own Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain and Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (2/106) picking up a narrative of Wāqidi but Wāqidi was abandoned and hence all his reports are weak.

[9] Ibn Ishāq, without a chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/328). As we know, one without a chain is a weak report.

answered him. It is about them that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿إِنَّ ٱلَّذِينَ يُنَادُونَكَ مِن وَرَآءِ ٱلْحُجُرَٰتِ أَكْثَرُهُمْ لَا يَعْقِلُونَ﴾

"Surely, those who call you from beyond the chambers, most of them do not use their minds."[10]

In any case, the Prophet ﷺ returned the prisoners to them.[11] Ibn Ishāq[12] stated that some were freed at no cost while others paid ransom; although Wāqidi's and Ibn Sa'd's reports do not tell us whether the prisoners were divided among the participants of the raid or not.

Wāqidi[13] writes that the reason why 'Uyaynah was sent is that Banu Tamim had attacked some people of Khuzā'ah bin Ka'b when the latter decided to pay *Zakah* to the Prophet's envoy Bishr bin Sufyān Ka'bi. They expelled them out of their quarters, and tried to provoke them. The Khuzā'ah men warned them of the ill consequences of their behavior. The *Zakāt* collector came back and reported the matter to the Prophet ﷺ.

It might be noticed that Ibn Ishāq[14] states that 'Uyaynah bin Hisn was among the delegates of Banu Tamim. This presents a

[10] *Surat Al-Hujurāt*: 4. Several narrators have mentioned that the reason behind the revelation of this Verse was Aqra' bin Hābis Tamimi who called out from outside of the Prophet's quarters, saying, "O Muhammad, O Muhammad." Another version has it that he said, "O Messenger of Allāh, O Messenger of Allāh." He did not answer him. Ibn Hābis said, "O Messenger of Allāh. My praise is good and my dispraise is bad." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "That is for Allāh." See Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/488) and (6/394). See also Tabari: *Tafsir* (26/77), and Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (7/349).

[11] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/160-161), Suspended (*Mu'allaq*); *Al-Wāqidi* (3/975-980); and Ibn Ishāq, *Mu'allaq* and very brief—*Ibn Hishām* (4/357). Bukhāri took it from him to mention a *Mu'allaq* report. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath/*The Book of *Maghāzi*.

[12] Through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/357). Nevertheless a *Munqati'* chain is of the weak kind.

[13] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/974), Wāqidi was abandoned as we know and so his reports are weak.

[14] *Ibn Hishām* (4/275) through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain, which happens to be of the weak type.

difficulty. How could he be a reason for the envoys to have come? Was he not the leader over the force sent, which brought the men and women prisoners of Banu Tamim? Perhaps, this error is from Ibn Ishāq.

Ibn Ishāq[15] has also reported that before he could reach Madinah with the women and children of Banu 'Anbar, 'Āishah ﷺ said to the Prophet ﷺ, "O Messenger of Allāh. I am required to free a slave from the son's of Ismā'il." (Perhaps because of an oath–*Translator.*) The Prophet ﷺ told her, "The captives of Banu 'Anbar are being brought to Madinah. I shall give one of them to you and you can free him."

Probably it is to this that Abu Hurayrah ﷺ was referring in his narration recorded in Bukhāri,[16] "I have always had a great regard for the Banu Tamim after three things that I heard the Prophet ﷺ say about them... (to the end of the *Hadith*)." He said, "...One of them was a slave with 'Āishah. He told her, 'Free her for she is one of the progeny of Ismā'il.'

This also leads us to conclude that the prisoners of Banu Tamim had been divided among those who had participated in the expedition and that 'Āishah ﷺ had either purchased this girl, or was gifted one, then freed her when her people came asking for her.

Qutbah bin 'Āmir's Expedition towards Tabālah[17]

The Prophet ﷺ sent him along with twenty men in the direction of the Tabalah or Bishah, close to Turabah. They were on ten camels that they rode in turns. They concealed their weapons, traveled in the night and hid themselves during the day until they reached the

[15] *Ibn Hishām* (4/357). But its chain suffers brokenness because it is not proven that 'Āsim bin 'Umar heard from 'Āishah ﷺ. See Ibn Hajar: *Al Fath* (18/222).

[16] *Al-Fath* (206/The Book of *Maghāzi*/H. 4366). As for the girl, it was Barirah as in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (10/260/H. 3536). See the names of those others that were taken prisoner along with her in the explanation of Ibn Hajar (10/H. 2543).

[17] Tabālah was a place near Tā'if.

enemy grounds. They attacked the enemy by night resulting in a fierce fight. But the pagans were defeated and they captured lots of camels, goats and took women prisoners. By morning, groups of the Khath'ami's began to assemble. They pursued the Muslims as they were returning. But just when they caught up with them, Allāh (ﷻ) sent floods between them and the Muslims. None of the pagans were able to cross the barrier until the Muslims were safely back in Madinah.

Wāqidi has several dates about when this expedition took place. In one place he mentions that it was in Rabi'ul-Awwal of the 8th year AH.[18] In another place he writes it as Safar of the 9th year, adding, "The story of this expedition is part of the expedition of Shujā' bin Wahb."[19]

Ibn Sa'd[20] mentions the date as Safar of the 9th year AH. In other words he agrees with the second opinion of Wāqidi. We are inclined to adopt this second opinion.

Dahhāk bin Sufyān Kilābi's Expedition to Quratā'

It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ sent a platoon to Quratā' in Rabi'ul-Awwal of the 9th AH under the leadership of Dahhāk bin Sufyān Kilābi. He was accompanied by Asyad bin Salamah bin Qurt. They met the Quratā' men in Zujj[21] and offered them Islam. They refused and so fighting broke out and the Muslims defeated them. Asyad encountered his father Salamah. He invited him to Islam and gave him promise of safety. But he cursed him and his religion. So Asyad struck at the shank of his father's horse. Then a

[18] *Al-Maghāzi* (2/753-754).

[19] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/981). The campaign of Shujā'—as he himself mentioned was in Rabi'ul-Awwal, eight years after *Hijrah*.

What I have noticed that the text of this campaign's report is the same as the text of Ghālib bin 'Abdullah's campaign which was to Kadid. Indeed, even the dates are same as dated by Wāqidi. Allāh knows best whether these were two campaigns or one.

[20] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/162) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

[21] A place in Najd on the way to Basrah—*Mu'jamul-Buldān* (3/133).

Muslim came up and killed Salamah.[22]

'Abdullah bin Hudhāfah Sahmi's Expedition

Bukhāri[23] and Muslim[24] have recorded that the Prophet ﷺ sent someone heading a group of *Ansār* and instructed them to obey him. However, the man got angry over something and ordered them to gather firewood. When they had done that, he got a fire lit and asked them, "Hasn't the Prophet instructed you to obey me?" They said yes. "So, jump into the fire," he commanded. They began to look into each other's faces and said, "We had sought refuge with the Prophet from the Fire!" His anger cooled down. When they met the Prophet ﷺ back home and informed him of the episode he said, "If you had entered into it, you would have never got out of it. Obedience is in righteous affairs."

I am inclined to believe that the leader of this expedition was 'Abdullah bin Hudhāfah. The two great Traditionists[25] (*Shaykhayn*-Bukhāri and Muslim) and others have reported[26] that the Verse,

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوٓاْ أَطِيعُواْ ٱللَّهَ وَأَطِيعُواْ ٱلرَّسُولَ وَأُوْلِي ٱلۡأَمۡرِ مِنكُمۡۖ﴾

"Believers, obey Allāh, obey the Messenger and those in charge of your affairs,"[27]

was revealed when the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Abdullah heading the expedition. This is explicitly stated by Ahmad[28] in one of his reports[29] wherein the same details are given as in *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*.

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[22] *Al-Wāqidi* (3/982), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/162-163) as a narration from his master Wāqidi.
[23] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (27/143 144/The Book of Rulings/H. 7145). The words herewith are his.
[24] *Muslim* (3/1469/H. 1840).
[25] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (119/H. 4584), *Muslim* (3/1465/1834).
[26] See Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (2/301), Tabari: *Tafsir* (8/497/Shākir): footnote.
[27] *Surat An-Nisa'*: 59.
[28] *Al-Musnad* (3/67).
[29] *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* by Albāni (2/142/H. 2863) where he said that the *Hadith* is of *Hasan* grade. The two redactors of *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/369) about

However, the opinion preferred by others is that of Ibn Kathir[30] and Tabari.[31] It says that it was revealed in connection with Khālid bin Walid at the time the Prophet ﷺ sent him in an expedition along with 'Ammār bin Yāsir. When the enemies heard of them they fled but for a single man. He came to the Muslim camp in the night and asked for 'Ammār bin Yāsir. When he was led to him he told him that he was a Muslim. He also asked if he had done the right thing by staying or should he escape along with his tribe. 'Ammār advised him to stay put in his place. In the morning Khālid attacked the tribal homes but found no one except this man. He imprisoned him and seized his belongings. 'Ammār raised an objection. The two of them exchanged some heated words. The Prophet ﷺ himself warned Khālid over his behavior towards 'Ammār and the above mentioned Verse was revealed.

In other words, the opinion of Ibn Kathir and Tabari is that the Verse is of a general nature to include everyone of the leaders and cover every circumstance. Some scholars were led into confusion because the narration says the man was an *Ansāri*, but Ibn Hudhāfah was a *Muhājir*. Ibn Hajar[32] said, "We might take the most general meaning to say that in the ultimate analysis he served the Prophet ﷺ (hence *'Ansāri' – Translator*)." He also thought that there were several incidents involved. As for Ibn Jawzi,[33] he remarked, "His people belonged to the *Ansār*. Some of the narrators are from them. He himself was a Sahmi." I am myself with the opinion of Ibn Jawzi.

The reason of the expedition stated by Wāqidi[34] and Ibn Sa'd[35]

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the chain used by Ahmad and Ibn Mājah: "It is Strong (*Qawi*)." Ibn Khuzaymah declared it *Sahih*, and so did Ibn Hibbān (552), and Hākim (3/630, 631).
[30] *Tafsir* (2/303).
[31] *Tafsir* (8/498-499/Shākir) through both disconnected as well as complete chains.
[32] *Al-Fath* (16/176/The Book of *Maghāzi*).
[33] This is how Ibn Hajar said. See the above reference. I could not detect Ibn Jawzi's opinion about it.
[34] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/983).
[35] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/163) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), as a narration of his master Wāqidi.

is that the Prophet ﷺ was informed that some people in Juddah (Jeddah) had spotted some men from Abyssinia. He sent 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz after them in Rabi'ul-Awwal of the 9th year, in the company of 300 men. He went as far as an island in the sea. When the sea rose, they retreated. As they were returning, some hastened to their families. 'Abdullah bin Hudhāfah was appointed leader over those who were hastening.

Ibn Ishāq[36] has mentioned the cause of its revelation as that Waqqās bin Mujazziz had been killed in Dhu Qarad. 'Alqamah bin Mujazziz wished to take revenge and so the Prophet ﷺ sent him heading the force. Obviously, reconciliation of the reports is possible.[37]

Notes

A command issued in anger will be executed only to the extent it agrees with the requirements of law. A general rule cannot be applied to every specific situation. The Prophet ﷺ ordered his men to obey their leader. One of them thought it was an unconditional instruction applicable to even situations of anger even if that entailed sin. But the Prophet ﷺ made it clear that it was subject to matters not involving sin.[38]

'Ali bin Abu Tālib's Expedition to Fulus and 'Adi bin Hātim Tā'i's Acceptance of Islam

The Prophet ﷺ sent 'Ali bin Abu Tālib along with a hundred men to Fulus in the month of Rabi'uth-Thāni of the ninth year after *Hijrah*. He was to destroy the idol mounted there. He attacked them by early morning, broke down the idol, confiscated the temple property, and had his hands full of slaves, camels and goats. 'Adi fled to Shām.[39]

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[36] *Ibn Hishām* (4/381 82) without a chain.

[37] *Al-Fath* (16/176).

[38] See Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/369), his text along with the footnotes of the two redactors.

[39] *Al-Wāqidi* (3/984-989), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/64) as a narration of Wāqidi.

Ahmad[40] and Tirmidhi[41] have recorded through Simāk bin Harb, narrating 'Adi bin Hātim that when the Muslims came, 'Adi was in another place called 'Aqrab.[42] They captured his aunt[43] and a few other men. When they were brought to the Prophet ﷺ she said, "The custodian has fled, the father is dead, and I am an old woman with no one at my service. So, be good to me (and release me), Allāh will be good to you." He asked her who her custodian was. She said, "'Adi bin Hātim." The Prophet ﷺ remarked, "Ah. The man who fled from Allāh and His Messenger?" However, he freed her and equipped her (for the journey). She went to her brother 'Adi in Shām and told him about how she had been treated and asked him to present himself to the Prophet ﷺ. He agreed, went to him and embraced Islam to the Prophet's great joy.[44]

'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan's Expedition to Jināb

'Ukkāshah bin Mihsan the Asadi was sent to Jinab in the territory of 'Udhrah and Baliyi. That was in Rabi'uth-Thāni of the 9th year after *Hijrah*.[45]

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[40] *Al-Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/189-191). His narrators are reliable except for Ibn Hubaysh who was acceptable anyway. Thus the report is at least of *Hasan* status.

[41] *Sunan*: (8/151-153/The Book of *Tafsir*/*Surat Al-Fātihah*/H. 2956), similar to the narration of Ahmad who said that the *Hadith* is *Hasan-Gharib* (Good & Unfamiliar). Albāni however thought it is *Hasan*: *Sahihut-Tirmidhi*. The 'Adi of this mention also narrated this tradition in whole, in various words, all of which cannot be quoted for length. One might see in in *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (5/337-345) and Ibn Kathir: *Tārikh* (5/75-78).

[42] The place is also called 'Aqraba' at a day's journey from Yamāmah.

[43] *Al-Wāqidi* (3/987); *Ibn Sa'd* (2/164) and Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/298) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), which says "his sister." I have relied on what is authentically reported by Ahmad and Tirmidhi.

[44] Ibn Ishāq reported the story with greater details, which happens to be the sum and substance of what Ahmad reported, but *Mu'allaq*—*Ibn Hishām* (4/298-301). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/75): "This is how Ibn Ishāq brought its text without a chain. However, it has other supportive elements." One might see those supportive elements with him (5/75-78). And, *Ibn Sa'd* has the words, "the father died."

[45] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/164), *Mu'allaq*.

Chapter 25

Tabuk
or the Expedition of Hardship

Origin of the name Tabuk

Muslim[1] recorded through Mu'ādh that the Prophet ﷺ said, "By Allāh's grace you will be in Tabuk waters tomorrow. You will reach it late at noon. Whoever precedes others may not touch its waters until I come up." Thus, we have the Prophet ﷺ himself naming the expedition as Tabuk. Therefore, there is no room for further discussion over the name of the expedition.[2]

Reasons for naming it as 'Usrah Expedition

This name derives from a report in Al-Bukhāri which is narrated by Abu Musa Ash'ari. He said, "My people sent me to the Prophet ﷺ to ask him to give us a few beasts of ride. They were in his company in the 'Usrah expedition, that is, the expedition of Tabuk." Bukhāri[3] wrote the following as the chapter heading, *"The chapter on Tabuk expedition, which is the 'Usrah (difficult) expedition."* Abu Musa's report is a strong evidence to

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[1] *Sahih Muslim* (4/1784/H. 706) and others.

[2] See the details of this with Dr. Sindi: *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk fi Riwāyāt Ghazwah Tabuk*, p. 38, and the pages that follow. It is a published Master's thesis.

[3] *Al-Fath* (16/237-238/H. 4415).

show that the expedition was undertaken in very trying conditions. They were short of equipment, beasts for ride, and provision.

Muslim[4] has recorded Abu Hurayrah's report detailing the hardships borne by the Companions in this expedition when they were forced to chew date seeds and drink water over them. According to another report the starvation was so severe that they sought the Prophet's permission to slaughter the riding beasts.[5]

These hardships were confirmed by a Verse of the Qur'ān revealed those days. It said,

﴿لَّقَد تَّابَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَى ٱلنَّبِيِّ وَٱلْمُهَٰجِرِينَ وَٱلْأَنصَارِ ٱلَّذِينَ ٱتَّبَعُوهُ فِي سَاعَةِ ٱلْعُسْرَةِ﴾

"Indeed, Allāh turned (in grace) towards those of the Muhājir and the Ansār who followed him in difficult hours."[6, 7]

Date of the Expedition

It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ left for this expedition in Rajab of the 9th year after *Hijrah,*[8] six months after lifting the Tā'if siege.[9]

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[4] *Sahih Muslim* (1/55 56/H. 27).

[5] *Sahih Muslim* (1/56/H. 207).

[6] *Surah At-Tawbah*: 117.

[7] Look into its explanation and other evidences that have come down, with Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/540-542).

[8] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/215), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/165).

[9] Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/237): "The battle of Tabuk took place in Rajab of the year nine after *Hijrah* before the Farewell pilgrimage over which there is a consensus of opinion. A report with Ibn 'Ā'idh coming from Ibn 'Abbās puts it after the Tā'if campaign by six months. This does not go against the opinion of those who said that it was in Rajab if we did not consider a few days. For, he entered Madinah after his return from Tā'if in Dhul-Hijjah.

Reasons of the Expedition

Wāqidi[10] and Ibn Sa'd[11] write that Heraclius had gathered a huge force which had been brought down from Rome and, in addition, was recruiting fighters from local Arab allies. When the Prophet ﷺ got the news, he started off towards them. Ya'qubi[12] says however that the journey was rather undertaken to seek revenge for Ja'far bin Abu Tālib.

Ibn 'Asākir[13] states in an untrustworthy report that the reason why the Prophet ﷺ went to Tabuk was that the Jews went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "If you are a true Messenger, then migrate to Shām since it is the land of the Prophets and the place where men will be gathered after Resurrection." They said this to provoke the Muslims into going to the Roman regions and face their ire. But when the Prophet ﷺ reached Tabuk, Allāh (ﷻ) revealed the Verse,

﴿وَإِن كَادُوا۟ لَيَسْتَفِزُّونَكَ مِنَ ٱلْأَرْضِ لِيُخْرِجُوكَ مِنْهَا﴾

"And, they would all but provoke you in the land in order to evict you therefrom..."[14]

Allāh ordered him to return to Madinah, which would be his place of death and resurrection.

Ibn Kathir[15] however said that the Prophet ﷺ decided to fight the Romans because they were the nearest to him of the antagonists of Islam. Also, they deserved to be addressed before any other people because they were closer to Islam and Muslims. Allāh (ﷻ) had said,

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[10] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/989-990) from a group of his masters.

[11] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/165), being a narration of Wāqidi.

[12] *Tārikh* (2/67).

[13] *Tārikh Dimashq* (1/167-168), through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) weak chain for it has Ahmad bin 'Abdul-Jabbār 'Utāridi, who was weak. Ibn Kathir said in his *Tafsir* (5/98): "This chain is questionable. Apparently it is not trustworthy." What refutes is that the Verse is Makkan while he lived in Madinah thereafter as said Ibn Kathir in his *Tafsir* (5/97).

[14] *Surat Al-Isra'*: 76.

[15] *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/3), and the *Tafsir* (5/98). See also his other statements in this regard in both the references.

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا۟ قَـٰتِلُوا۟ ٱلَّذِينَ يَلُونَكُم مِّنَ ٱلْكُفَّارِ وَلْيَجِدُوا۟ فِيكُمْ غِلْظَةً ۚ وَٱعْلَمُوٓا۟ أَنَّ ٱللَّهَ مَعَ ٱلْمُتَّقِينَ﴾

"Believers. Fight the disbelievers nearest to you. And let them discover harshness in you and know that Allāh is with the pious."[16]

Ibn Kathir's opinion seems to be correct with the addition of the note that the order was to fight all of the polytheists, including the People of the Book who stood in the path of Islam and encouraged the pagans to fight the Muslims.

Expending for this Expedition

The Prophet ﷺ encouraged his Companions to expend wholeheartedly for this expedition for the reasons that, firstly, the destination was at a great distance, and secondly, a large number of people were accompanying him. He promised great rewards to those who would expend. Following that, everyone donated according to his means. 'Uthmān bin 'Affān ﷺ was the most to donate. We have several *Ahādith* and reports about it, such as the following:

Bukhāri[17] entered the following report. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Whoever provided the Muslims with equipment, shall be rewarded with Paradise." So 'Uthmān provided for the fighters. It is reported by Abu 'Abdur-Rahmān the Sulami that when, later in his caliphate, 'Uthmān was besieged, he reminded those besieging him, "Don't you know that he (the Prophet ﷺ) said, 'Whoever provided the people with equipment, shall be rewarded with Paradise?' And I equipped, them." Those besieging him acknowledged it.[18] Tirmidhi's words are, "I remind you by Allāh. Do you know that the Prophet ﷺ said in connection with that difficult campaign, 'Who will now expend something that will be accepted

[16] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 123.

[17] *Al-Fath* (14/194-195/The Book of *Fadā'il*), Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

[18] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/250-251/H. 2778).

(by Allāh for rewards)?' The people were in straitened circumstances and so I equipped them." His besiegers replied, "Yes." According to another report coming from Thumāmah bin Hazn, "I adjure you by Allāh and Islam. Are you aware that I provided equipment for the difficult expedition from my wealth?" They admitted, "By Allāh, yes."[19]

It cost 'Uthmān a hundred thousand dinars. When he spread it in front of the Prophet ﷺ, he began to move his hand through it saying, "Nothing that 'Uthmān does after this will harm him."[20]

It is said that in addition 'Uthmān ﷺ offered material help such as camels along with their equipage.[21] There need be no doubt over this since the Companions did not fail in their acknowledgment as proven by reports.

It is reported that 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf ﷺ spent 200,000 dirhams which was one half of his wealth.[22] 'Umar ﷺ offered a hundred *Uqiyyah*.[23]

[19] *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* by Albāni (3/208-209/H. 2919, 3965).

[20] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/53); *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (3/209/H. 2920, 3967) which Albāni thought was *Hasan*; Hākim: *Al-Mustadrak* (3/102) who declared it reliable with Dhahabi's agreement. In the chain falls Kathir bin Abu Kathir, the freed slave of Abu Samurah, who was acceptable. See *At-Taqrib*, p. 460. 'Ajali and Ibn Hibbān have also declared him reliable. However, both took it easy. See *Al-Mizān* (3/410). It appears Albāni declared it for this reason, and because of the supportive elements, as *Hasan*.

[21] Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (9/289-290/H. 3700) who said, "This tradition is *Hasan* by this chain; and we do not know it but as a narrative of Sakan bin Mughirah; Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (3/102) who declared it *Sahih* with Dhahabi's agreement. However, the chain has Farqad Abu Talhah who was Unknown (*Majhul*)—*Tahdhib At-Tahdhib*, (8/234). Therefore, the opinion of the two is not acceptable, which could be the reason why Albāni did not trace it in his *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi*. And see what was reported, in connection with what 'Uthmān ﷺ spent in cash and kind, with Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (11/252).

[22] See various reports in this connection with Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/382-391/Shākir) while discussing Allāh's Words, *"Those who taunt the pious believers in matters of charity..."* *Surat At-Tawbah*: 79. The reports he presented were weak but gain strength from others especially about its dates.

[23] Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārikh Dimashq* (1/408-409) through a weak chain, for it has

The poor ones among the Muslims also did what they could, some of them stealthily because of the low amount they were offering. They feared the hypocrites would wink at each other and laugh at them. Abu 'Uqayl brought half a measure of dates, while another brought much more. The hypocrites belittled both and said, "Allāh does not need the charity of such a low quantity. As for the other man, he didn't spend but to show off." So Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَلۡمِزُونَ ٱلۡمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ ٱلۡمُؤۡمِنِينَ فِي ٱلصَّدَقَٰتِ وَٱلَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ إِلَّا جُهۡدَهُمۡ﴾

"Those who taunt the pious believers in matters of charity and those who do not find anything but little."[24]

Abu Khaythamah Ansāri also brought in a small measure of dates. They belittled him too.[25] Probably it was this that Tabari[26] was speaking when he said: One of the *Ansāri* said, "I have two measures of dates: one for Allāh and the other for my family." They said, "Ibn 'Awf did not spend but to show off." And they said, "Does Allāh stand in need of this?" So Allāh revealed the Verse,

﴿ٱلَّذِينَ يَلۡمِزُونَ ٱلۡمُطَّوِّعِينَ مِنَ ٱلۡمُؤۡمِنِينَ. . .﴾

"Those who taunt the pious believers in matters of charity..."

Ahmad bin Ibrāhim ... Ibn Artāt, who was truthful; Muhammad bin 'Ā'idh, truthful, and 'Uthmān bin 'Ata' who was weak. It is not possible that the Prophet ﷺ should urge the people to contribute for this battle but men like 'Umar ؓ should not contribute. For it is known that he tried to compete with Abu Bakr ؓ, in contributing for the cause of Allāh when the Prophet ﷺ asked for it. So he brought half his wealth, but there came Abu Bakr with all he had, and he swore that thereafter he would never compete with him, reported by Tirmidhi in his *Sunan* (9/277/The Book of *Manāqib*/H. 3676) who ruled, "This is a *Hasan-Sahih* (Good & Sound) report." Others also recorded it. The tradition does not mention that this was at the time of Tabuk campaign, but most probably it was.

[24] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (17/211-213/H. 4668).

[25] *Sahih Muslim* (4/2121-2122/H. 2769).

[26] *Tafsir* (14/386/H. 17010/Shākir) through a *Hasan li Ghayrihi* chain because of the supportive narrations that Tabari mentioned while explaining this Verse.

So, they taunted the rich as attempting to show off and belittled the poor men's offering.

It is also reported that when 'Ulbah bin Zayd bin Hārithah did not find anything to expend, he went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "By Allāh, I have nothing to expend. O Allāh, I am ready to sell my honor." The next day, one of the Prophet's callers cried out, "Where is the man who offered yesterday to sell off his honor?" 'Ulbah got up. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Your offering has been accepted."[27] Incidentally, it might be noted that 'Ulbah was not a son of the Prophet's freed slave Zayd bin Hārithah.

Indeed, 'Ulba bin Zayd was one of those seven who were known as the 'weepers'. They went to the Prophet ﷺ seeking mounts. He did not have any. So they returned with tears in their eyes.

The Ash'ar people sent Abu Musa Ash'ari to the Prophet ﷺ to request for mounts. He was then in an angry mood. Further, he had nothing to offer him. Abu Musa returned to his people in grief. A little later the Prophet ﷺ sent Bilāl to Abu Musa. When he returned, he gave him six camels that he had purchased from Sa'd so that he and his Ash'ari companions[28] could use for the journey. According to another report he gave them five camels from the booty.[29]

Some reports say that it was in reference to the 'weepers' and the Ash'ari men that the following Verse was revealed,

﴿لَّيۡسَ عَلَى ٱلضُّعَفَآءِ وَلَا عَلَى ٱلۡمَرۡضَىٰ وَلَا عَلَى ٱلَّذِينَ لَا يَجِدُونَ مَا يُنفِقُونَ حَرَجٌ إِذَا نَصَحُواْ لِلَّهِ وَرَسُولِهِۦۚ مَا عَلَى ٱلۡمُحۡسِنِينَ مِن سَبِيلٖۚ وَٱللَّهُ غَفُورٞ رَّحِيمٞ ٩١ وَلَا عَلَى ٱلَّذِينَ إِذَا مَآ أَتَوۡكَ لِتَحۡمِلَهُمۡ قُلۡتَ لَآ أَجِدُ مَآ أَحۡمِلُكُمۡ عَلَيۡهِ تَوَلَّواْ وَّأَعۡيُنُهُمۡ تَفِيضُ مِنَ ٱلدَّمۡعِ حَزَنًا أَلَّا يَجِدُواْ مَا يُنفِقُونَ﴾

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[27] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (2/500), a *Hadith* by Mujammi' bin Jāriyah and 'Amr bin 'Awf and Abu 'Abs, through a complete chain that Albāni declared trustworthy in his commentary on *Fiqhus-Sirah* by Ghazāli, p. 439. Also see Dr. Sindi's study in *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, ch. 23.

[28] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/238-239/H. 4415).

[29] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/223/H. 4385).

"There is no sin upon the weak, nor the sick, nor those who do not find anything to expend, if they are true to Allāh and His Messenger. There is no blame upon those who do good. Allāh is very Forgiving, very Kind. Nor is there any blame upon those who, when they come to you asking you to provide mount and to whom you said, 'I do not find anything to mount you', they returned with their eyes filled with tears because of grief that they do not find anything (of their own) to expend."[30, 31]

These Verses present us a moving picture of the efforts made by the Companions in matters of *Jihād*, and the grief that the truthful among them experienced when they were not able to expend in the way of Allāh because of the paucity of their means. As for those who could not participate because of sickness or old age, they were at heart with those of the *Mujāhidin* who went out. It is about them that the Prophet ﷺ said, "You didn't go out the distance, nor crossed a valley but there were people in Madinah who were with you." They asked, "O Messenger of Allāh. Although they are in Madinah?" He replied, "Yes, although they are in Madinah. They were held back because of a good reason."[32]

The Hypocrites and the Tabuk Expedition

When the Prophet ﷺ announced that he wanted everyone to go to Tabuk, and invited the people to expend for the expedition, the hypocrites began to discourage the people. They said, "Do not go in this heat." Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

[30] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 91-92.

[31] See Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/419-423/Shākir) who brought in several narratives related as the reason behind revelation of this Verse, most correctly being that it was revealed in reference to Abu Musa Ash'ari and his companions. Ahmad also recorded this in his *Musnad* (4/398) following a trustworthy chain. Ibn Jarir mentioned a *Hadith* through a *Hasan* chain: *Tafsir* (14/422/ H. 17086) that it was revealed in reference to 'Irbād bin Sāriyah. Dr. Sindi said in *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, p. 240, that there is no reason to believe that it was revealed in reference to a group of weepers, 'Irbād bin Sāriyah being one of them.

[32] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/256/H. 4433).

﴿وَقَالُوا لَا تَنفِرُوا فِي الْحَرِّ قُلْ نَارُ جَهَنَّمَ أَشَدُّ حَرًّا لَّوْ كَانُوا يَفْقَهُونَ..﴾

"They said, 'Do not go in this heat.' Say, 'The fire of Hell is hotter, if they knew..."[33, 34]

One day while the Prophet ﷺ was preparing for the journey, he told Jadd bin Qays, "O Jadd. Would you like to go the Romans this year?" He answered, "O Messenger of Allāh, allow me (to stay back) and do not put me to trial. By God, my people know that there isn't a man more fond of women than I. I am afraid that if I saw fair women, I won't be able to control myself." So the Prophet ﷺ ignored him and said, "I allow you (to stay back)." Allāh revealed,

﴿وَمِنْهُم مَّن يَقُولُ ائْذَن لِّي وَلَا تَفْتِنِّي أَلَا فِي الْفِتْنَةِ سَقَطُوا وَإِنَّ جَهَنَّمَ لَمُحِيطَةٌ بِالْكَافِرِينَ﴾

"And there is one among them who says, 'Allow me (to stay back) and do not put me to trial.' Indeed, in trials they fell and surely Hell-fire is encompassing the disbelievers."[35, 36]

[33] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 81-82.

[34] See Ibn Ishāq through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) chain, being a report of four of his trusted masters and others—*Ibn Hishām* (4/217). This text has been narrated through other trustworthy routes as said Dr. Sindi in *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, p. 155. Also see Suyuti's: *Ad-Durrul-Manthur* (3/365), Qurtubi's *Tafsir* (8/216), Shawkāni's *Fathul-Qadir* (2/371) and Tabari's: *Tafsir* (14/399-400).

[35] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 49.

[36] Reported by Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/216-217); Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/287-288); sometimes through Ibn Ishāq who used the terms 'said so-and-so' through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain and stopping at his masters: Zuhri, Ibn Rumān, 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr, 'Āsim bin 'Umar bin Qatādah and others. At other times he reported through other sources such as through Qatādah as a *Mursal* report, whose chain is weak, or as a *Mursal* report of Mujāhid whose chain is also weak, or as report of Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ through a weak chain. Abu Nu'aym and Ibn Marduwayh narrated it to whom Ibn Hajar attributed his own report in *Al-Isābah* (1/228). But he declared both the chains as weak. Also recorded by Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (2/308) and *Al-Awsāt* in which chain falls Yahya bin Himmāni who was considered weak as in *Majma'zl-Zawā'id* of

Some others went up to the Prophet ﷺ with false excuses so that he might allow them to stay back. He allowed them to stay back. But Allāh did not approve of it and said,

﴿عَفَا ٱللَّهُ عَنكَ لِمَ أَذِنتَ لَهُمْ حَتَّىٰ يَتَبَيَّنَ لَكَ ٱلَّذِينَ صَدَقُوا۟ وَتَعْلَمَ ٱلْكَٰذِبِينَ﴾

"Allāh forgave you. Why did you excuse them? (You should not have done that) until it was clear to you as to which of them is true and which of them are liars."[37, 38]

The Prophet ﷺ learnt that the hypocrites were assembling in Suwaylim's house – a Jew – and trying to hold back people from going into the journey. He sent some people to burn down the house.[39]

They became so bold as to construct a mosque before the Tabuk expedition in order to call meetings within it and work out plans against the Muslims. They were also hoping that Abu 'Āmir, the rebel, would return to them from the Roman territories and lead the insurrection against the Prophet ﷺ. As false explanation they said they had built it to allow weak and old Muslims from going all the

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Haythami (7/30). As for Tabarāni's report, since it is supported by Tabari's report coming through Ibn 'Abbās, and because there are other supportive narrations, can be thought of as having a basis. This might have led Tabari to conclude that the several reports have led the commentators to believe that it was revealed in connection with Jadd bin Qays. He wrote, "It is enough for Jadd bin Qays and his kind that they burn in the Fire in ignominy." However, 'Addāb Hamash does not agree with him in his book: *Tha'labah bin Hātib As-Sahābi Al-Muftra 'Alayh*, pp. 101-102, in this conclusion. To think of Jadd bin Qays as a hypocrite is not easy to accept since one who commits major sins does not become a hypocrite unless he intended hypocrisy in practice. One might also remember that Ibn 'Abdul-Barr mentioned through a report termed weak that Jadd bin Qays had repented and did well thereafter *Al-Isti'āb* (1/251). I might add that a charge of this kind requires undeniable evidence.

37 *Surat At-Tawbah*: 43.

38 Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/273/Shākir) being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Mujāhid of trustworthy chain of narrators.

39 Reported by Ibn Hishām through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain (4/217 218) and therefore it is weak.

way to the Prophet's mosque for prayers. They requested the Prophet ﷺ to do a prayer in it. But Allāh (ﷻ) exposed the truth by revealing the Verses,

﴿وَٱلَّذِينَ ٱتَّخَذُوا۟ مَسْجِدًا ضِرَارًا وَكُفْرًا وَتَفْرِيقًۢا بَيْنَ ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ وَإِرْصَادًا لِّمَنْ حَارَبَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥ مِن قَبْلُ ۚ وَلَيَحْلِفُنَّ إِنْ أَرَدْنَآ إِلَّا ٱلْحُسْنَىٰ ۖ وَٱللَّهُ يَشْهَدُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَٰذِبُونَ ﴿١٠٧﴾ لَا تَقُمْ فِيهِ أَبَدًا ۚ لَّمَسْجِدٌ أُسِّسَ عَلَى ٱلتَّقْوَىٰ مِنْ أَوَّلِ يَوْمٍ أَحَقُّ أَن تَقُومَ فِيهِ ۚ فِيهِ رِجَالٌ يُحِبُّونَ أَن يَتَطَهَّرُوا۟ ۚ وَٱللَّهُ يُحِبُّ ٱلْمُطَّهِّرِينَ﴾

"As for those who established a mosque out of mischief and disbelief, to divide the believers and as a shelter for him who warred against Allāh and His Messenger aforetime ... they will surely swear, 'We intended nothing but good.' Allāh testifies that they are liars. Do not ever stand therein. Rather, a mosque that was established on piety from the first day is worthier that you stand therein. There are men in it who love to be cleansed (of physical and spiritual impurities). And Allāh approves of those who seek to be cleansed."[40, 41]

So the Prophet ﷺ refused to pray in it. Then, after his return from Tabuk, he ordered that it be burned down. Allāh also forbid the Prophet ﷺ from praying over their dead after he had prayed over 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul, after his return from Tabuk. Allāh's Words were,

﴿وَلَا تُصَلِّ عَلَىٰٓ أَحَدٍ مِّنْهُم مَّاتَ أَبَدًا وَلَا تَقُمْ عَلَىٰ قَبْرِهِۦٓ﴾

"And do not pray over one of them that dies, nor stand by his grave."[42, 43]

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40 *Surat At-Tawbah*: 107-108.

41 One of the narrations of Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/470/H. 1787/Shākir), via a chain that Dr. Sindi declared reliable in *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, p. 316, adding, "It has been used by the commentators, and its narrators are all reliable except Muthanna and 'Abdullah bin Sālih." See also the various narrations in this regard with him on pages 314-319. See also Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/468-475).

42 *Surat At-Tawbah*: 84.

43 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (6/168/H. 1269), *Muslim* (4/2141/H. 2774).

A few others of the hypocrites stayed back (without seeking excuse). This is deduced from Ka'b bin Mālik's statement who said, "When I used to go out and move among the people ... it would pain me to see that either I saw men steeped in hypocrisy, or weak ones whom Allāh had excused..."[44]

However, some of them chose to accompany the Prophet ﷺ in order to play their dirty role whenever the opportunity arose.

The Prophet ﷺ ordered every Muslim to join in the campaign. The Qur'ān referred to this when it said,

﴿يَـٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا مَا لَكُمْ إِذَا قِيلَ لَكُمُ ٱنفِرُوا فِى سَبِيلِ ٱللَّهِ ٱثَّاقَلْتُمْ إِلَى ٱلْأَرْضِ أَرَضِيتُم بِٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا مِنَ ٱلْـَٔاخِرَةِ فَمَا مَتَـٰعُ ٱلْحَيَوٰةِ ٱلدُّنْيَا فِى ٱلْـَٔاخِرَةِ إِلَّا قَلِيلٌ﴾

"Believers! What's the matter with you that when you are told, 'Go forth in the way of Allāh,' you cling to the earth? Are you content with the life of this world in preference to that of the next? But the comforts of this life (in comparison) with the Hereafter are but little."[45]

The reason why some Muslims were hesitating was that the fruits on the trees were getting ripe, and the shades in the heat of the season were very alluring.[46] Another discouraging factor was the great distance promising hardships through and through. A Qur'ānic Verse depicted this,

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[44] Being a *Hadith* of Ka'b bin Mālik, that has been documented by *Sihāh* works, as was mentioned earlier.

[45] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 38.

[46] A Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Mujāhid as reported by Tabari: *Tafsir* (10/133) whose narrators are reliable, except for the usage of *'an'anah* (so-and-so) by 'Abdullah bin Najih the Makkan, who was weak from a certain aspect.

Wāqidi has mentioned in *Al-Maghāzi* (3/990) that the Prophet ﷺ sent envoys to tribes inviting them to join the expedition to Tabuk. This cannot be far from truth since, apparently, the Verse lends to believe that the forgiveness was common for all: those within Madinah as well as outside it. In addition, we might remember that the Prophet ﷺ had invited the tribes to join him in the Makkan expedition as *Sahih* reports suggest.

لَوْ كَانَ عَرَضًا قَرِيبًا وَسَفَرًا قَاصِدًا لَّٱتَّبَعُوكَ وَلَـٰكِنۢ بَعُدَتْ عَلَيْهِمُ ٱلشُّقَّةُ وَسَيَحْلِفُونَ بِٱللَّهِ لَوِ ٱسْتَطَعْنَا لَخَرَجْنَا مَعَكُمْ يُهْلِكُونَ أَنفُسَهُمْ وَٱللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ إِنَّهُمْ لَكَـٰذِبُونَ ﴿٤٢﴾

"Had the gain been immediate, and the journey short, surely they would have followed you (O Muhammad). But the hardship made them feel it far away. They will surely swear by Allāh, 'Had we the means, we would have gone forth with you.' They destroy their own souls. Allāh is aware that they are liars."[47, 48]

A great many hypocrites and Bedouins stayed back from the expedition. Those of the Companions who remained behind because of a good reason were but few. However, there were three of the good Muslims who had no excuse to stay back. We shall speak of them later.

The Companions' Attitude towards the Campaign

When the Prophet ﷺ spoke about where he intended to go, an act that went against his habit of keeping his intention to himself,[49] the Muslims began to make wholehearted preparations to join him, unmindful of hardships they would have to put up with. The pleasant life in Madinah did not allure them to stay back. Here we have 'Ali ؓ meeting with the Prophet ﷺ at Juruf and saying, "O Messenger of Allāh, do you leave me behind with women and children?" The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Are you not satisfied that you should be to me like Harūn was to Musa, except that there will be no Prophet after me?"[50]

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[47] *Surat At-Tawbah*: 42.

[48] See Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/272/16760-16761) through a *Hasan* chain reaching Qatādah but Disconnected (*Mursal*).

[49] A report in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/242/H. 4418).

[50] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/240/H. 4416); *Muslim* (4/1870-1871/H. 2404) and others. Juruf has been mentioned, through a *Mursal* chain, by Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/221) which is a place three miles off Madinah in the direction of Shām: *Mu'jamul-Buldān* (2/187).

And then we have Abu Khaythamah Ansāri who had to struggle a great deal with himself over whether he should stay back or go. Finally, he decided to go for the sake of Allāh's rewards. He said, "I did not start off with the Prophet ﷺ. I entered into my orchard. The house had been sprinkled with water. My wife stood thereby. I said to myself, 'This is not fair. The Prophet ﷺ is traveling in this poisonous heat and I am here in the shade!' I grabbed a water bottle, some dates and started off. When I caught up with the Muslims, they saw me approaching. The Prophet ﷺ remarked, 'Be it Abu Khaythamah.' I went up to him and he supplicated for me."[51]

It is stated that when Abu Dharr's mount failed on the way, he loaded his belongings on his back and trod forward on foot. The Prophet ﷺ had encamped at a place on the way to Tabuk. One of the Muslims spotted a man approaching them. He informed the Prophet ﷺ. He said, "Be it Abu Dharr." When he reached them, and he happened to be Abu Dharr, the Prophet ﷺ said, "May Allāh show mercy to Abu Dharr. He walks alone, will die alone and will be raised up alone."

When Abu Dharr ؓ took residence in Rabadhah during the caliphate of 'Uthmān ؓ, he did not have anyone with him except his wife and a slave. He instructed them that if he died they were to wash him, enshroud him, then place the coffin on the highway and seek help for his burial from the first group of travelers that came by. They did as he had instructed. It was 'Abdullah bin Mas'ud ؓ who happened to show up. He was coming down from Iraq with a group of people to perform *'Umrah*. Their camels almost trod over Abu Dharr's coffin. The slave went forward and explained, "This is Abu Dharr. Help us in his burial." Ibn Mas'ūd wept and said, "The Prophet ﷺ spoke the truth when he said, 'You walk alone, will die

[51] Reported by Tabarāni as Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/244); Ibn Ishāq, Disconnected (*Mursal*) *Ibn Hishām* (4/222); Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/244) and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/998-999). By these routes the tradition is weak but some of the details in the story of Ka'b strengthen it (4/2122/2769). Abu Khaythamah is identified as 'Abdullah bin Khaythamah Sālimi as in Wāqidi (3/998). However, according to Zuhri, he was Mālik bin Qays as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/244).

alone, and will be raised up alone.'" They buried him. Then he narrated to them what had happened during the Tabuk campaign.[52]

This was of course one of the miracles of the Prophet ﷺ.

Number of Participants

There are various reports. According to one version narrated by Ma'qal from Ka'b bin Mālik who said, "The Prophet ﷺ led the campaign with a huge number of Muslims, numbering over 10,000. No register could record their names."[53] There is another narration by him which says, "On that occasion the Muslims with the Prophet ﷺ were too large to be recorded in registers."[54] And Ibn Hajar said,[55] "Hākim has a *Hadith* in his *Al-Iklil* narrated by Mu'ādh. It

[52] Reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/50-51) where he regarded it as trustworthy with Dhahabi's agreement but who added, "It is *Mursal*," and Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* who follows the route of Ibn Ishāq who clearly stated his hearing. Nevertheless, the report has Buraydah bin Sufyān who was controversial. See *Mizānul-I'tidāl* (1/306).

The *Hadith* was also used by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/10-11) through the same chain remarking that it is *Hasan*. He mentioned the incident of the slowing down of the camel and his death through a single chain. However, in the *Sirat Ibn Hishām*, Ibn Ishāq mentioned the incident of the slowing down of the camel through a chain as that of Bayhaqi and Ibn Kathir.

The report of his death was also mentioned by Ahmad in his *Musnad*: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/374-375) with a slight difference from that of Hākim. Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (9/322): Ahmad recorded it through two chains, one of them being this, while the other is in brief coming down from Ibrāhim bin Ashtar reporting Abu Dharr ؓ. The narrators of the first report are those of the trustworthy works. The two redactors of *Ibn Hishām* said, "If not for Ashtar, the chain of the second report would have been treated as *Hasan*. He is one of those whom Ibn Hibbān did not trust. See, *Ta'jilul-Manfa'ah*, p. 20.

Ibn Sa'd (4/4/232-234) too has a report similar to the narration of Ahmad which Dr. Sindi thought is *Hasan: Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, pp. 307, 309.

In short, Sindi and the two verifiers of *Ibn Hishām* declared the story of the death as *Hasan*.

[53] *Muslim* (4/2129/H. 2769).

[54] *Muslim* (4/2121/H. 2769).

[55] *Al-Fath* (16/242). Ibn Ishāq's narration cannot be found in the current prints see Dr. Sindi: *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, p. 178.

says: "We accompanied the Prophet ﷺ in the Tabuk campaign in numbers exceeding 30,000.' Ibn Isḥāq also confirms these numbers." Wāqidi[56] records Zayd bin Thābit also saying that there were 30,000 men in the army. According to a second version with him, "There were 30,000 men with the Prophet ﷺ, and 10,000 horses."[57] Abu Zur'ah Rāzi has the figure of 40,000.[58] Ibn Hajar[59] said, commenting on some of these reports, "It is possible that Ma'qal's report through Ka'b bin Mālik speaks of only horsemen." Abu Zur'ah Rāzi has also said that they were 70,000. Some scholars have tried to reconcile Abu Zur'ah's statement with that of Ibn Isḥāq by saying that perhaps Abu Zur'ah counted the main army as well as the various attendants, whereas Ibn Isḥāq only the main army.[60]

The preferred opinion, and the most acceptable one, is that the army comprised 30,000 men. That was the opinion of biographers such as Ibn Isḥāq, Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd. Trustworthy narrations have nothing to say about the numbers.

The Story of Those Whose Case was deferred

Apart from the hypocrites and those who had good reasons to stay back, three of the pious Companions also remained behind. They were: Ka'b bin Mālik, Murārah bin Rabi', and Hilāl bin Umaiyah the Wāqifi. They were overcome by the charms of city life and fell victims to procrastination. Ka'b bin Mālik has narrated his story in full that Bukhāri,[61] Muslim[62] and others preserved. It runs as follows:

"The fact is that when I stayed behind from the Tabuk expedition, I had never been stronger and wealthier... As for me, I would want to prepare myself as everyone of the Muslims, but do

[56] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/996) through a complete chain.
[57] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/1002), through a chain reaching up to his master, *Ibn Sa'd* (2/166) being originally a narration by Wāqidi.
[58] This was said by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/242).
[59] *Al-Fath* (16/242).
[60] See: *Tārikh* of Ibn Abu Khaythamah, part fifty, p. 123.
[61] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/241-252/H. 4418).
[62] *Muslim* (4/2120-2128/H. 2769).

nothing about it. I would tell myself that it was no matter of concern since I could prepare myself in a day, if I willed. The procrastination went on until the heat was really on and I hadn't done anything yet. I remained in that situation, until everyone left. Then I thought I would catch up a day or two later, but I didn't. I wish I had. But it was not destined that I should. (After the Prophet ﷺ had gone,) I would go out and it would pain me to see that no one was left in town but he who had a mark of hypocrisy on his face or was someone whom Allāh had excused because of women to look after.

"When I learnt that the Prophet ﷺ was returning from Tabuk, I was overtaken by various thoughts and began to consider lying to him to escape from his anger and even consulted my homefolk regarding this affair. Nevertheless, when I heard that the Prophet ﷺ was now close by, falsehood left me and I knew that I could only escape by speaking the truth. I went up to him and when I greeted him, he smiled the smile of an angry man. Then he said, 'Get closer.' I went up to him and sat down in front of him. He asked, 'What held you back? Had you not bought a mount?' I replied, 'O Messenger of Allāh. By Allāh, if someone else of the people were to be sitting before me, I could count on escaping his anger with an excuse, and I am astute in argument. But, by Allāh, you know that if I spoke out a lie today that would satisfy you, it is possible that Allāh will invoke in you anger against me. In contrast, if I spoke the truth, you might be displeased, but Allāh might forgive me. By Allāh, I had no excuse. I was never stronger and in easier circumstances than at the time I stayed behind.' The Messenger ﷺ said, 'As for this man, he spoke the truth. Now, rise up until Allāh decides about you.'

"So I got up. Some of the Banu Salamah men followed me in annoyance. They blamed me for not thinking up an excuse. I asked them if there was anyone else who was in the same situation. They said, 'Yes. Two more men have also admitted to what you admitted and they too have been given the same reply.' I asked them who they were. They named persons who had participated in the battle of Badr.[63] So, I decided I'd do nothing.

[63] Said Ibn Qaiyim in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/577): "This seems to be an illusion on the part of Zuhri, the narrator of this report. For, we do not find any of

"The Prophet ﷺ forbade anyone to speak to the three of us, so the people avoided us and betrayed demeanor that changed the world around me completely. We endured this for fifty nights. As for my companions, they felt humiliated and stayed at home. But I was younger and hardier and used to go about, attend to prayers with the Muslims and go around the markets. But no one spoke to me ever. I would go to the Messenger ﷺ, greet him while he sat with the people after the prayers, asking myself if his lips moved in reply or not. Then I would pray near him and steal a look. I found that when I was engaged in my prayers, he looked at me but when I paid him attention, he would turn away.

"One day, as I was walking through the Madinan market, a Nabati from the Syrian region who had come to town to sell food grains was saying, 'Can someone lead me to Ka'b bin Mālik?' The people led him to me. He handed me a letter from the ruler of Ghassān. I knew how to read and write. It said, 'We hear that your companion (meaning Muhammad ﷺ) has treated you badly. God has not meant you to be humiliated and lost. Come and join us. We will treat you most fairly.' I told myself that this too was a trial from Allāh. I threw the letter into the oven.

"Thus it went on for forty of fifty nights, when a messenger of the Messenger of Allāh arrived to say that I was to separate from my wife. I asked if I was to divorce her? He said, 'No. But don't go near her.' The other two were also sent similar orders. I told my wife, 'Go and live with your family until Allāh sends His command.' ... Ten more nights passed over us to make it fifty.

"One morning I offered my *Fajr* prayers on top of one of our (tribal) houses. Then, as I sat there very much in the state which Allāh had described as the earth having become narrow despite all

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the biographers or war chroniclers who mentioned the names of these two among those who participated at Badr.

I might point out that Ibn Hajar mentioned in *Al-Isābah* (4/607) that Hilāl bin Umaiyah participated in Badr. Further, according to *Sahih* reports, Marārah bin Rabi' also participated in the battle: *Al-Isābah* (4/396). However, it might also be pointed out that Ibn Hajar was neither a war chronicler nor a biographer.

its vastness, I suddenly heard the voice of a crier coming over the mountain saying, 'Good news, Ka'b bin Mālik.' I fell into prostration knowing that the relief had come.

"The Prophet ﷺ announced of the acceptance of repentance of the three of us in the morning prayers. People started pouring out to convey the good news. Some people went to the other two to announce the good news while a horseman galloped off to me. And a runner from Banu Salamah ran up towards me until he reached the mountain. His voice was faster than the horse. Then, as the crier announcing the good news appeared, I took off my outer garments and gave them to him in jubilance. By Allāh, I didn't have clothes other than them. (Perhaps he means good quality ones — *Translator*.) I borrowed two pieces of garments and set off for the Prophet ﷺ. On the way, streams of people met me to congratulate me on the acceptance of my repentance. I entered the mosque. The Prophet ﷺ was sitting there with people around him. I saluted the Prophet ﷺ. His face was shining with happiness. He said, 'Good news of a day better than any day since your mother gave birth to you.' I asked, 'Is the pardon from you, O Messenger of Allāh, or from Allāh?' He replied, 'Rather, from Allāh.'

"I said, 'As an act of penitence I should offer all my property as charity to Allāh and His Messenger.' He said, 'Hold back some of your property with you. That's better for you.' I also said, 'O Messenger of Allāh! Allāh saved me because of truthfulness. And, it is a part of my penitence that I should not speak but the truth the rest of my life.' And Allāh (ﷻ) revealed, *'As for the three* ... until, *'and be of the truthful.'* ...We were the three whose case was deferred as against those whose excuses the Prophet ﷺ accepted. They had sworn to him, and even sought their forgiveness, but as for us, our case was left pending, until Allāh Himself judged us. That is why Allāh said, *'As for the three that were deferred...'* and not that 'the case of those who had stayed back from the expedition.' Our deferment was in contrast to those who swore (lies), sought (false) excuses and were forgiven."

According to a fuller narration of Ka'b, altogether 80 and odd men had stayed behind from this campaign. They sought excuses of the Prophet ﷺ, and he excused them, judging by their face value

and, entrusting their secrets to Allāh. He even prayed for their forgiveness. Wāqidi's reports also agree with the above figure. In addition, Wāqidi has said that apart form these, there were additional 82 men of the Bedouins belonging to Ghifār and other tribes, who had stayed behind. Further, 'Abdullah bin Ubaiy bin Salul and those who followed him were not counted in these figures. In fact, they were a large body. Also, Wāqidi,[64] Ibn Sa'd[65] and Ibn Ishāq[66] have recorded that Ibn Ubaiy went out with the Prophet ﷺ until they reached the Dhubāb mountain off Madinah. He was accompanied by his allies from the Jews and the hypocrites. It used to be said, 'Ibn Ubaiy's army is no smaller than that of the rest of the Muslim army.' However, as the Prophet ﷺ marched on, Ibn Ubaiy fell back along with his followers. But this part is not confirmed through authentic reports.

Those who remained behind had thought that their absence from such large numbers would not be noticed. However, the Prophet ﷺ knew the absence of some of those who had stayed back. For example, he asked Abu Ruhm Kulthum bin Husayn the Ghifāri about some of those that had stayed behind of the Aslam[67] and Ghifār tribes. And, when he had reached Tabuk, he inquired about Ka'b bin Mālik.[68]

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[64] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/995). However Wāqidi, despite his vast knowledge, was treated unreliable in *Hadith* matters.

[65] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/165) being a report of Wāqidi who was abandoned.

[66] *Ibn Hishām* (4/219) through a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report. He, Wāqidi and Ibn Sa'd reported this part in terms indicating some reservation indicating that perhaps it was not acceptable to them. And it is right of them to doubt the mention of the Jews in large numbers since this does not go well with the events that took place between Muslims and Jews. It is very unlikely that the Jews would be in such strength. It is another thing that the report is not reliable.

[67] A narration of Ibn Ishāq through a complete chain, being originally a report of Zuhri, although Ibn Ishāq did not clearly mention having heard from him. The chain has one called Ibn Akhi Abu Ruhm about whom Haythami said he didn't know who he was. See *Al-Majma'* (6/192). Also see: *Ibn Hishām* (4/234-236). It is also reported through Ma'mar via Zuhri, as in *Mawāriduz-Zamān* p. 418. Thus it gathers strength to become *Hasan li Ghairihi* as said Dr. Sindi in *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, p. 245.

[68] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/244/H. 4418).

Muslims in Tabuk

It is reported that the Prophet ﷺ delivered a long sermon at Tabuk. Among other things, he said, "People. The most truthful of discourse is Allāh's Book. And the most reliable, the word of piety. The best of nations was that of Ibrāhim. The best of ways, those of Muhammad. The best talk, Allāh's remembrance. The best of narrations, this Qur'ān. And the best of deeds, the ideal ones. The worst of things, innovations. The best of guidance is the guidance of the Prophets. The best of deeds is that which is beneficial, the best of guidance is that which is followed, and the worst of blindness is the blindness of the heart..."[69]

He sent Khālid bin Walid to Ukaydir of Dumatul-Jandal. They captured him and brought him to the Prophet ﷺ. He spared his life and ordered him to pay tribute.[70]

The man was hunting cows outside his fort when he was captured. The Prophet ﷺ had already described to Khālid the fort, and that the Muslims would find Ukaydir there.[71] The Muslims wondered at the rich shirt he was wearing which Khālid had got him relinquish and had sent it to the Prophet ﷺ. He said, "Are you wondering at this? By Him in Whose Hand is my life, Sa'd bin Mu'ādh has a better handkerchief in Paradise than this."[72]

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[69] See it in Ahmad's *Al-Musnad* (3/37); Abu 'Ubayd: *Al-Amwāl*, pp. 255-256, and Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/15-16). The chains of Ahmad and Abu 'Ubayd have someone called Abu Khattāb Misri, who was unidentified. Further the chain cited by Ibn Kathir has one called 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān who had had been abandoned.

[70] A transmission of Abu Ishāq through-'Āsim-through-Anas as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (1/413) in the biography of Khālid bin Walid. This narration gathers strength from supportive elements. A supportive narrative is that of Ibn Ishāq that we have mentioned after this wherein Ibn Ishāq reported it through the same chain as did Abu Ishāq. And he was firm about having heard it himself. Thus the transmission becomes *Hasan*. See *Ibn Hishām* (4/232) who is another supporting reporter to Abu Ishāq's transmission.

[71] A narration of Ibn Ishāq, once *Mu'allaq* and in detail—*Ibn Hishām* (4/231), and another time a complete chain but in brief through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/232).

[72] Ibn Ishāq narrated the story of his imprisonment through a Suspended

Trustworthy reports have it that Ukaydir offered a silken[73] garment as gift to the Prophet ﷺ. People were amazed by its quality. It was then that the Prophet ﷺ said the words above. So the garment was sent to him as a gift and was not taken as booty, as Ibn Ishāq's report says. This is strengthened by Abu Ya'la's dependable report that when Ukaydir presented himself to the Prophet ﷺ, he brought out a velvet garment that had been embroidered with gold. The Prophet ﷺ returned it to him. Ukaydir felt bad about his gift being rejected and so offered it once again. The Prophet ﷺ then said, "Give it to 'Umar..."[74] to the end of the *Hadith*. Bukhāri's version says that the Prophet ﷺ had not given it to 'Umar so that he could wear it himself. Accordingly, 'Umar sent it across to his pagan brother in Makkah.[75] 'Ali's version says that the Prophet ﷺ gave him a striped large shawl that he wore but the Prophet ﷺ disapproved of it and so he divided it between his women.[76]

What can be deduced from various reports is that not one[77] but several garments were presented to the Prophet ﷺ and that the Prophet ﷺ and his Companions did not wear anything of silk, for

(*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/231-232). He also reported the arrival of Ukaydir and the wonderment of the Muslims, as also he reported the Prophet's tradition in that regard all through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/231-232). Ibn Lahiy'ah transmitted through Abul-Aswad from 'Urwah through a *Mursal* chain, but he did not mention in it the handkerchief of Sa'd. It goes with some variation. Tirmidhi also recorded it: *Sunan* (6/45/ The Book of *Libās*/H. 1723). He did it through a chain other than that of Ibn Ishāq adding, "This is a reliable tradition." Nasa'i also transmitted by the same route and text in his *Sunan* (9/199/The Book of *Zinah*). His words are: "He sent a shirt of velvet embroidered with gold which he wore..." He did not mention it as the gift from Ukaydir. Also, Prophetic narrations contradict his act of wearing golden embroidered silk clothes. As for the Prophet's words regarding Sa'd's handkerchief, the *Shaykhayh* (Bukhāri and Muslim) have also recorded it, as in footnotes to follow.

73 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/275/H. 3802), *Muslim* (4/1916-1917/H. 2468, 2469).

74 This was said by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (11/43/H. 2615), and reported by Dhahabi in *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 646.

75 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/40/H. 2612) and (11/45/H. 2619) the name of this brother is 'Uthmān bin Hākim, see Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (11/45).

76 Al-Bukhāri/*Al-Fath* (11/41/H. 2614).

77 See this in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/40/H. 2612).

this is unlawful to men as proven by trustworthy reports.

It is also reported that the Prophet ﷺ sent Khālid to Ukaydir with four hundred and twenty horsemen and that he brought back 800 prisoners, one thousand camels, four hundred coats of mail, and four hundred spears.[78]

Bukhāri[79] has recorded that while the Prophet ﷺ was at Tabuk he also received a white mule as a gift from the ruler of Ayla. The Prophet ﷺ sent him back a cloak[80] and granted peace to him on tribute.

People of Jarba' and Adhruh also came up to him and offered tribute. He got a document written for them, which remained with them.[81]

One of those days at Tabuk, the Prophet ﷺ delayed his appearance for the dawn prayers for some reason. His Companions asked 'Abdur-Rahmān to lead in the prayers. The Prophet ﷺ came in when he had already begun, so he prayed behind Ibn 'Awf and completed the missed part of the prayer.[82]

It is also reported that while in Tabuk the Prophet ﷺ sent Dihyah bin Khalifah Kalbi to Heraclius, and that Heraclius sent Tanukhi to investigate some of the signs of prophethood.[83] If this is true then it means Dihyah was sent twice.

78 A transmission of Abu Lahiy'ah through Abul-Aswad, through 'Urwah, being Disconnected (*Mursal*) and Ibn Lahiy'ah was quite reliable. See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/20).

79 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fat-h* (12/254/H. 3161). And the name of the King of Aylah was Yuhannah bin Ru'bah as as mentioned by the war chroniclers—see Ibn Ishāq *Ibn Hishām* (4/230-231), and *Al-Wāqidi* (3/1031).

80 Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fat-h* (12/254/explanation of H. 3161) that the one who put the cloak (on him) was the Prophet ﷺ.

81 Ibn Ishaq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (3/230).

82 *Muslim* (1/230-231/H. 274) who did not mention this was in Tabuk. It is others who said that it was in Tabuk. See e.g., Mālik's *Muwatta'* (1/157-158); Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/293) and (4/244, 247, 249, 251); Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (1/103-104/The Book of *Tahārah*/H. 149), *Ibn Sa'd* (3/128-129) through a trustworthy chain. It specifies the date and place of the incident which Ibn Sa'd asked his master Wāqidi who informed him that it was in Tabuk.

83 Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (1/203), (3/442), (4/74), (5/292). Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/19): "This is an Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) kind of tradition, whose

Return to Madinah

The Prophet ﷺ did not encounter any resistance so he returned to Madinah after he had stayed in Tabuk for twenty nights.[84] On their way back the Muslims passed by Al-Hijr which was once the inhabitation of the Thamud. They had angered Allāh for the rejection of His Messenger, had slaughtered the camel miraculously produced by Sālih and were destroyed in consequence.[85] When the people tried to enter into their dwellings, the Prophet ﷺ prohibited them.[86] He told them, "Do not enter into the dwellings of a people who wronged themselves, lest you are struck by what they were struck, unless you go in crying." Then he prodded his camel and quickened the pace until he had crossed the valley. When they had alighted at Hijr some people had drawn water from its wells, and prepared dough for bread. He ordered them to feed the dough to the cattle and throw away the water. He allowed them that they draw water from the well at which Sālih's camel drank.[87]

When the Companions complained to him of the fatigue visible on the camels because of the long distance, he prayed to Allāh. They were refreshed and began to travel back to Madinah at good gait.[88]

Some of the hypocrites that had accompanied planned to assassinate him by pushing him down a narrow path on a cliff, at night. He got wind of their plot and got them cleared from his

chain is not untrustworthy and which only Imam Ahmad recorded." And Dr. Sindi said in *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, p. 328, said: "Its chain is Perfect (*Jaiyid*). It has Sa'd bin Abu Rāshid acceptable, 'Abdullah bin Khuthaym truthful, Yahya bin Sulaym truthful, and Ishāq bin 'Isa truthful.

[84] *Mawāriduz-Zamān* p. 415, through a trustworthy chain.

[85] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (13/117-118/H. 3377), and *Muslim* (4/2285-2286/H. 2980).

[86] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/231). Ibn Kathir too brought it in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/13) commenting thereat that its chain is Good (*Hasan*) although it was not documented (by the leading *Hadith* chroniclers).

[87] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (13/119/H. 3378-3379), *Muslim* (4/40/H. 2981).

[88] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (6/20) through a *Hasan* chain—*Mawāriduz-Zam'ān*, p. 418.

way.[89] When he arrived at Madinah, women and children came out to greet him.[90] They were singing:

The full moon has appeared on us
From the mountains of Wada'
Thanks is obligatory on us
So long as a supplicator supplicates.[91]

Entering into Madinah, the Prophet ﷺ first went into the mosque and offered two *Rak'ah* of prayer. Then he sat down and the hypocrites began streaming in offering excuses for not joining him. He accepted their excuses at their face value, sought their forgiveness from Allāh and left their secrets to Allāh.[92] Then came the three of those whose case was deferred.

A Study of Some of the Verses that were revealed in Reference to Tabuk Expedition

Many Verses of *Surat At-Tawbah* were revealed in connection with this expedition. Some of them came down before the expedition, others while the Prophet ﷺ was on his way to Tabuk and some others after his return from there. They touched upon several aspects of the campaign, exposed the hypocrites, appreciated the efforts of the true *Mujāhidin* and announced the acceptance of the sincere repentants who had remained behind.

1. Allāh ﷻ said,

[89] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/390-391) through a *Hasan* chain. And the story is strengthened by what Muslim narrated (4/2144/H. 2779) as a report of Hudhayfah in their regard. It has also been recorded through two other routes, but weak. See Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/256-259).

[90] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/259/H. 4426-4427).

[91] Ibn Hajar said in explanation of the two above reports (4426-4427): "We have been reported through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain in the *Halabiyyāt* the words of the women when the Prophet ﷺ entered Madinah: 'The full moon as appeared on us...' It is said that this happened at the time he had arrived at Madinah after his emigration from Madinah. Another opinion is that they were said when he arrived from Tabuk."

[92] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/244-245/H. 4418), and *Muslim* (4/2123/H. 2769).

﴿وَءَاخَرُونَ ٱعْتَرَفُوا۟ بِذُنُوبِهِمْ خَلَطُوا۟ عَمَلًا صَٰلِحًا وَءَاخَرَ سَيِّئًا عَسَى ٱللَّهُ أَن يَتُوبَ عَلَيْهِمْ ۚ إِنَّ ٱللَّهَ غَفُورٌ رَّحِيمٌ﴾

"And (there are) others who admitted their sins. They mixed good deeds with evil ones. It is possible that Allāh will turn to them (in mercy). Surely, Allāh is Very Forgiving, Very Kind."[93]

Tabari[94] said about this Verse: "Scholars have disagreed over the exact interpretation of this Verse. Some said that it was revealed in connection with ten men who had stayed back from the Tabuk campaign. Of them, one was Abu Lubābah. Seven of them bound themselves to the pillars in the Prophet's mosque at the time of the Prophet's return from Tabuk, as expiation for their sin. Others have said that it was revealed in connection with Abu Lubābah alone for the reason that he had not participated in the Tabuk campaign. Yet others have said that the allusion was to the Bedouins.

Tabari mentioned the name of everyone who gave his opinion about the Verse. But, according to Dr. Sindi's[95] research, none of the narratives are acceptable. Hence we find Tabari[96] saying, "The preferred opinion is that it came down in reference to everyone who admitted his sin in having stayed behind the Prophet ﷺ and not going out with him when he went to Tabuk to fight the Romans. It actually came in reference to a group of people, Abu Lubābah being one of them, since the words indicate that it was a group that had committed the error. This is following the reports of the biographers, historians and researchers that the reference is not but to a group which stayed away from the campaign ... one of them being Abu Lubābah. There is consensus of opinion among scholars over this issue.

2. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَلَئِن سَأَلْتَهُمْ لَيَقُولُنَّ إِنَّمَا كُنَّا نَخُوضُ وَنَلْعَبُ ۚ قُلْ أَبِٱللَّهِ وَءَايَٰتِهِۦ

93 *Surat At-Tawbah*: 102.

94 *Tafsir* (14/446-453/Shākir).

95 *Adh-Dhahabul-Masbuk*, pp. 112-123.

96 *Tafsir* (14/453/Shākir).

وَرَسُولِهِۦ كُنتُمْ تَسْتَهْزِءُونَ﴾

"If you asked them, they would say, 'We were only joking and playing.' Say, 'Were you joking with Allāh, His Verses and His Messenger?'"[97]

Tabari[98] has recorded several opinions coming down from the earliest scholars about this Verse. One of the trustworthy reports coming from Ibn 'Umar ﷺ says that someone said in an assembly in Tabuk: "We haven't ever seen reciters of this kind. They are most greedy of food, most lying of the tongue and, most cowardly when faced up with the enemy." Someone in the assembly protested saying, "You have lied. In fact, you are a hypocrite. I shall surely tell the Prophet about this." So, the incident was relayed to him and the Qur'ānic Verse was revealed. Ibn 'Umar said, "Then I saw the man holding the belt of the Prophet's beast, trying to steer clear of stone. He was saying, 'O Messenger of Allāh, we were only joking and playing,' and the Prophet ﷺ was saying, 'Were you joking about Allāh, His Verses and His Messenger? Do not offer excuses today, you have surely disbelieved after your faith.'"

Scholars have therefore deduced in the light of this Verse that a word of disbelief said jokingly is the same as that said in earnest. There is no difference in opinion between the scholars over this issue.[99]

Allāh (ﷻ) also said in response to what the man said,

﴿لَا تَعْتَذِرُوا۟ قَدْ كَفَرْتُم بَعْدَ إِيمَٰنِكُمْ ۚ إِن نَّعْفُ عَن طَآئِفَةٍ مِّنكُمْ نُعَذِّبْ طَآئِفَةًۢ بِأَنَّهُمْ كَانُوا۟ مُجْرِمِينَ﴾

"Do not offer excuses. You have surely disbelieved after your faith. Even if We forgive a party of you, We shall punish a party because they are criminals."[100]

As for one who was referred to by the above Verse as forgiven,

97 *Surat At-Tawbah*: 65.

98 *Tafsir* (14/333 report No. 16912), through a reliable chain.

99 See, e.g., Ibn Jawzi: *Zādul-Masir* (3/464-465).

100 *Surat At-Tawbah*: 66.

the correct opinion is that it was Mahshi bin Himyar Ashja'i because he disapproved of what he had heard.[101]

Some of the Miracles performed during Tabuk Journey

1. Once the Companions complained to the Prophet ﷺ about the fatigue of their riding beasts. He ordered them to pass by him at a narrow gorge. He began to blow on them saying, "O Allāh, make them carry in Your path. Surely, You carry forward the weak and strong, wet and dry, on land and water." The result was that they did not evince fatigue thereafter until they arrived at Madinah. The narrator, Fadālah bin 'Ubayd Ansāri said, "I understood the significance of the Prophet's words, 'weak and strong, wet and dry, on land and water' only when we went to Shām to fight the Romans. From there we climbed into a ship to fight the Romans in Cyprus. We understood the true significance of the words when we were in the middle of the sea and experienced what sea travellers have to go through."[102]

2. Wāqidi has several narrations detailing the miracles that the Prophet ﷺ performed. But they are all weak reports, e.g., the python that came in the path of the believers in Tabuk,[103] or the miracle of water sprouting forth from the Prophet's fingers,[104] or increase in food quantity.[105]

3. Suyuti has also reported several stories concerning the Prophet's miracles. But they too are all weak, e.g., coming down of the rains after the Prophet's supplications in Tabuk or his meeting with Prophet Ilyās.[106]

All these narrations that have come down through weak

[101] Being a transmission of Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Mundhir, Ibn Abu Hātim through Ka'b bin Mālik, through a *Hasan* chain as mentioned by Suyuti: *Ad-Durrul-Manthur* (3/254). For other explanations see Suyuti: *Ad-Durrul-Manthur;* Tabari: *Tafsir* (14/336-337), and Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (14/112).
[102] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (6/20) through a *Hasan* chain.
[103] *Al-Maghāzi* (3/1008-1015) through a Fabricated (*Maudu'*) chain.
[104] Ibid (3/1040-1042).
[105] Ibid (3/1017-1018).
[106] *Al Khasā'isul-Kubra* (2/106, 109).

narrators in *Al-Wāqidi* and *Al-Suyuti* have, in any case been reported through trustworthy reporters also, which we have mentioned in other places of this work, except for the story about the Prophet ﷺ meeting with Prophet Ilyās or the story about the python. These have not been reported by trustworthy narrators.

Lessons, Rules, and Other Points

1. The Prophet's act of praying behind 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf was by way of showing honor to his Companions and an evidence to prove that a man of higher spiritual rank can pray behind a man of lower rank.

2. Mu'ādh bin Jabal asked the Prophet ﷺ while on the way back to Madinah about deeds that will usher one into Paradise. He answered that the testimony stood right at the top, prayers and charity were its pillars, and *Jihād* its apex.[107]

3. The Prophet ﷺ used to combine his *Zuhr* and *'Asr* prayers as well as *Maghrib* and *'Isha* prayers.[108]

4. The Prophet ﷺ was asked about what one was to keep before him while praying (*Sutrah*). He answered that it could be the size of a back-support used on a camel.[109]

5. The Prophet ﷺ stayed at Tabuk for twenty days during which he shortened his prayers.[110] Accordingly, the scholars have said that one might shorten his prayers for any number of days during a journey so long as he does not decide to take up residence. See note 17 below.

6. The Prophet ﷺ declared about carrion's skin: "To tan it is to cleanse it." This came out when he asked for water at a house in

[107] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/245-246) through a *Hasan* chain.
[108] Zurqāni: *Sharh Mawatta' Mālik* (2/55-58).
[109] Nasa'i: *Sunan* (2/62) through a trustworthy chain.
[110] Haythami: *Mawāriduz-Zamān ila Zawā'id Ibn Hibbān*, p. 145, through a reliable chain.

Tabuk and it was brought to him in a leather bowl.[111]

7. The Prophet ﷺ declared a man's front teeth unworthy of retaliation when someone clamped his teeth hard on another man's arm. The latter pulled his arm, and off came the teeth that had sunk in his arm.[112]

8. The possibility of boycotting a man for more than 3 days for a good Islamic reason, as did the Prophet ﷺ in case of the three who were deferred. They were boycotted for fifty days.

9. It is not right for anyone passing by a place whose inhabitants had been punished by Allāh to enter into it, nor should one encamp there. Rather, he should hurry away, covering his head with a cloth. He should not ever enter into such places but weeping, intending to draw a lesson. This is what the Prophet ﷺ did when passing by Hijr and instructed us to do the same. This is also what he did in the Muhassar Valley near Makkah, for that was the place where the Elephant and the people with it were destroyed.

10. It is allowed for a leader of the Muslims to disclose affairs of the state to the general public if its concealment could cause harm; as it is also allowed for him to conceal some other matters, or employ hints in accordance with the importance and need of the hour. In case of the Tabuk expedition, the Prophet ﷺ made public announcement of his intention.

11. When the leader of the Muslims makes a general call for *Jihād*, then it is obligatory on everyone to join. It is not necessary that the leader names everyone. This is a situation in which *Jihād* becomes obligatory on everyone. The second situation is when an enemy attacks and enters into the Muslim land, and the third, when someone comes along to discover that fighting between two groups —Muslims and their enemies— is actually going on.

[111] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (4/368-369/The Book of *Libās*/H. 4125) through a *Hasan* chain.

[112] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/240/H. 4417), *Muslim* (3/1300-1301/H. 1673-1674).

12. *Jihād* implies participation with one's own wealth, and with one's own self. This is one of the opinions of Imam Ahmad. Ibn Qayyim said, "This is the truth, about which there is no doubt."

13. The Prophet's words to 'Uthmān ﷺ, when he saw how generously he contributed, "Nothing will harm 'Uthmān after this," were very important words of praise. This praise works as an added factor along with others that he spoke about him, including the glad tidings he gave him of Paradise.

14. The one who cannot participate in *Jihād* or has a good reason for staying behind is himself required to look for means and prove in their absence that he could stay back, as it happened in case of those who went up to the Prophet ﷺ seeking mounts. When the Prophet ﷺ did not find anything to offer, they returned with tears in their eyes for the loss of opportunity to participate in *Jihād*.

15. The need for the leader to leave behind a deputy to look after the interests of the weak, women and children in his absence, as it was done in case of 'Ali ﷺ. Such a person maybe one of the *Mujāhidin*. Ali's deputization was of a special kind. As for the deputization for other common affairs, that was entrusted to Muhammad bin Maslamah.

16. It is not allowable to drink from the wells of Thamud, use it for making dough, or for cleansing purposes. But the cattle can be given drink. That does not apply to the well of the Camel (of miraculous creation) which can be used for every purpose.

17. The Prophet ﷺ stayed in Tabuk for twenty days during which he shortened the prayers. He did not say to his followers that they were to offer prayers in their complete form after that period. Such staying, during the course of a journey, is part of the journey, no matter whether it gets longer or shorter, so long as the intention is not to take residence there. That was also the practice of Sa'd bin Abu Waqqās, Ibn 'Umar, Anas bin Mālik and 'Abdur-Rahmān bin 'Awf. According to Ibn Qaiyim that is the right opinion.[113]

[113] See Ibn Qaiyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/558-565).

18. *Jihād* is conducted at four levels: (i) with the heart, as for example, of those who cannot participate for a good reason; the Prophet ﷺ said about them, "There are people in Madinah..." (ii) with the tongue; (iii) with one's wealth; (iv) with one's physical presence, as in a *Hadith* which says, "Fight against the pagans with your tongues, hearts and wealth."[114]

19. The permissibility to destroy and burn down places of sin as did the Prophet ﷺ with the mosque built for mischief.

20. The permissibility for a man to admit his shortcomings in his obedience of Allāh and His Messenger, as did Ka'b while describing the reasons he stayed away from Tabuk expedition.

21. The permissibility for a man to praise himself, if it is not out of pride or with the intention to make a material gain, as did Ka'b bin Mālik ﷺ.

22. The fealty sworn at 'Aqabah before *Hijrah* had a very important place in the history of Islam. In fact Ka'b thought of it as more important and consequential than the victory at Badr.

23. It is not right of a leader to treat lightly the absence of some of his men from situations when they are required to be in. Rather, he might mention it to others so that the concerned men may repent, as did the Prophet ﷺ when he inquired about Ka'b during the Tabuk expedition.

24. The Prophet ﷺ used to accept the hypocrites on their face value, leaving their secrets to Allāh (ﷻ). This gives us the rule that we go by the apparent and not by what is concealed in the hearts as did the Prophet ﷺ with those who came up with lame excuses for having remained behind.

[114] Documented by Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (3/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2504); Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/124, 153); Nasa'i: *Sunan* (6/7/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 3098); Dārimi: *Sunan* (2/213/The Book of *Jihād*); Hākim: *Al-Mustadrak* (2/81) who declared it reliable with Dhahabi's approval and Ibn Hibbān: *Mawāriduz-Zamān* (H. 1618). The words of Ibn Hibbān are: "Fight the pagans with your hands and tongues."

25. Ka'b's prostration at hearing the voice of the good news harbinger, shows that this was a practice with the Companions. This is known as the prostration of thanks that is offered when one obtains a good thing or a favor of Allāh, or gets over a tribulation. Abu Bakr ﷺ also prostrated himself when he received the news of the fall of Musaylimah the liar.[115] So also, 'Ali ﷺ fell into prostration when he found the corpse of Dhu Thudayyah among the Khawāriji[116] insurgents. They were following the Prophet ﷺ in this regard who prostrated himself on several happy occasions. Abu Bakrah said, "Whenever the Prophet ﷺ received a good news, he offered a prostration to Allāh."[117] For example, he prostrated himself when he received the good new of Hamdān accepting Islam on 'Ali's hand.[118]

26. The desirability of offering something in charity at the time one receives a good news, if one has sufficient means as did Ka'b who said he wished to give away in charity all his wealth. But the Prophet ﷺ restrained him and accepted only one-third. So he retained his share at Khayber.[119]

27. The legality of accepting tribute from the disbelievers. By this means they get their life and property protected. We have seen that the Romans dispersed when the Prophet ﷺ advanced on Tabuk and the Arab Christians came to him agreeing to pay tribute.

[115] Recorded by Bayhaqi: *Sunan Al-Kubra* (2/271/The Book of *Salāt*).

[116] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (2/848/Shākir). Shākir declared the chain reliable.

[117] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (3/216/The Book of *Jihād*/H. 2774). Albāni said it is trustworthy, as in *Sahih Abu Dāwud*, No. 2479, Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (5/304/H. 1578 where he said, "*Hasan-Gharib* (Good & Unfamiliar)." See also Albāni's *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (1/233/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 1394) about which he said, "*Hasan.*" Ibn Qayyim said in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/584) about these reports in connection with the prostration of thanks: "These are trustworthy reports that bear no defect."

[118] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/184/H. 4349). The story of 'Ali and Hamdān will come later in the twenty-seventh chapter.

[119] Reported by Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (3/614/The Book of *Iman wa Nudhur*/H. 3321) through a reliable chain. For more information see Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/558-592) and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/251-254).

28. In Ka'b's action in dealing with Ghassān's letter and his comment thereat is a shining example for anyone who wishes to place his trust in Allāh. Tribulations always lead to strengthening of faith and deeper sincerity.

29. The Tabuk expedition dug Islamic power deep in the north of the Arabian Peninsula and prepared the grounds for the conquests of Syrian region for which the Prophet himself had, before his demise, prepared the first army, led by Usāmah bin Zayd ﷺ. Abu Bakr ﷺ carried on and executed the plans laid dwon by him. Abu Bakr in fact, furthered the efforts by sending armies to remote areas of Shām and Iraq. That led to the release of the people of those area from the chains of slavery to Roman and Persian tyranny, into Islamic freedom.

Chapter 26

Delegations

When the Prophet ﷺ had subdued Makkah, returned triumphant from Tabuk, and the Thaqif tribe turned Muslim, Arab delegations started pouring in to him from all directions,[1] in such numbers that the ninth year came to be known as the Year of Delegations.[2] We have pointed out earlier that the first consequence of the Makkan fall was that the surrounding tribes who were waiting for the outcome of the struggle between the Muslims and the Quraysh began to enter into Islam.[3]

Bukhāri, Ibn Ishāq, Wāqidi, Ibn Sa'd and Bayhaqi have all given dates of the arrival of the delegates in the ninth year, in fact, from the time Makkah fell. This will become apparent to the reader when he studies the details of the delegates coming in from various directions. However, those scholars who penned down the events, did not attempt a comprehensive presentation. Ibn Kathir, therefore, took it upon himself to record what others hadn't, making use of several sources.[4] Unfortunately, by now those sources are lost. I have, luckily, found those references mentioned in other books of history.

If we put together the reports speaking of delegations, we find

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[1] See Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/273).

[2] *Ibn Hishām* (4/273) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

[3] See it in its place in this book, where the major results of the conquest of Makkah are mentioned.

[4] See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/46-47).

that the list goes above sixty. Shāmi has written about them in greater detail, taking the list to above a hundred. It is possible that those who mentioned shorter lists counted only the important ones, or, did not mention those that did not fit into the theme of their works.[5] Ibn Sa'd is one of those who listed most. However, the problem with him, his mentor Wāqidi and Ibn Ishāq, is that they did not bother to mention the chain of narrators except in a few cases. Moreover those that they mention are not free of defects.

I shall mention the major delegations that came to the Prophet ﷺ without going into minor details, for that will lengthen this work. Abu Turāb Zāhiri has dedicated a whole useful volume to this project.[6]

The Muzaynah Delegation

They came to the Prophet ﷺ in Rajab of the fifth year AH.[7] They were 400 in number. When they wished to depart, the Prophet ﷺ instructed 'Umar ﷺ to provide them with (some foodstuff) for the journey. 'Umar said, "I have nothing except a few dates, which I do not think would be enough for these people by any means." The Prophet ﷺ insisted, "Go and provide them." When 'Umar went to his house, he was surprised to find a huge pile of dates inside. The Muzaynah people collected what they wanted and departed. Says Nu'mān bin Muqrin, the narrator, "I was the last one to leave the place. I turned back to look and found the pile as high as it had been before."[8] Obviously, this was one of the miracles of the Prophet ﷺ.

5 See Abu Turāb Zāhiri: *Wufudul-Islām,* p. 8.

6 Ibid. The book is in 205 pages where the author mentions more than sixty delegations.

7 Ibn Sa'd: *Al-Tabaqātul-Kubra* (1/291) originally a transmission of Wāqidi which has Kathir bin 'Abdullah Muzani in its chain.

8 Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/445). Its narrators are reliable and the chain *Hasan.* Apart from him others also documented it, see in this connection Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/365-367) and compare between the narrations.

Banu Tamim Delegation

Bukhāri mentions their journey. *Surat Al-Hujurāt* also speaks of them, commenting on their coarse manner of greeting and talk, when they shouted the Prophet's name from beyond his quarters. They demanded that he come out, instead of asking for his permission to be allowed in, waxing proud.[9]

Ibn Ishāq[10] gives us their names and what transpired between them on the one side, and the Prophet ﷺ, his poet Hassān, and his speaker Thabit bin Qays on the other. Their poet was Zibriqān bin Badr, and their speaker 'Utārid bin Hājib.

They had gone to the Prophet ﷺ early in the ninth year after *Hijrah.*[11]

'Abdul-Qays Delegation

Bukhāri[12] narrates that when they arrived the Prophet ﷺ said, "Welcome to a people (that come) in unhumiliated and without regrets." They said, "O Messenger of Allāh, the pagans of Mudar are a barrier between you and us. So, we cannot see you except in the consecrated months. Therefore, tell us something that will usher us into Paradise, and to which we can bid others behind us." He replied, "I command you four things and prohibit four: Belief in Allāh. Do you know what is belief in Allāh? It is to testify that there is no deity save Allāh; establishment of regular prayers; paying the *Zakāt;* fasting Ramadān; and that you should pay up one-fifth of the spoils of war (to the state)." And then he forbade them to use four kinds of utensils, which they used for making wine.

What is apparent from the reports, as pointed out by Ibn

9 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/206/H. 4365).

10 *Ibn Hishām* (4/274-283) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*), see Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/523).

11 See Diyār Bakri: *Tārikhul-Khamis* (2/118-119) and see some other details about them at the point of the campaign of 'Uyaynah bin Hisn Fazāri to Banu 'Anbar.

12 *Al-Fath* (16/208/H. 4368, 4369), *Muslim* (1/46-50/H. 17-18), *Al-Bayhaqi: Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/325/footnotes).

Hajar,[13] is that actually two delegations of the 'Abdul-Qays had arrived separately: one of them before the fall of Makkah. That is why they said, "the pagans of Mudar are a barrier between you and us." This deputation had probably arrived either in the fifth year after *Hijrah* or earlier. They lived in the Bahrain province. It is said that it was the first town in which Friday prayers were established after that of the Prophet's mosque. This is evidenced by a *Hadith* of Bukhāri.[14] The first deputation comprised thirteen men. It is these people who had asked about faith and what to avoid in drinks. Ashajj was one of the delegates. The Prophet ﷺ told him, "You have two qualities that Allāh loves: clemency and deliberateness." This is also reported by Muslim[15] through Abu Sa'eed, and by Abu Dāwud[16] through Umm Abān bint Wāzi', and she through her grandfather Zāri' who was one of the delegates. He said, "We began to hurry up to the Prophet as we got closer to Madinah so as to kiss his hand. But Ashajj – whose true name was Mundhir – delayed his coming until he had changed his clothes. When he came in, the Prophet ﷺ said, "You have two qualities..." Another report of Hud bin 'Abdullah bin Sa'd 'Asri says that he heard his grandfather Faridah 'Asri[17] say, "While the Prophet was speaking to the people around him, he remarked, 'A caravan is about to arrive comprising men who are the best of the people of the east." 'Umar ﷺ therefore went into the open to receive them. He gave them the good news, and came back in their company. They came up to the Prophet, ﷺ jumped down from their mounts and began to kiss his hand. Ashajj, however, did not show up until he had tied up his beast, got his and other people's luggage collected together, and came in walking at an easy pace. The Prophet ﷺ then remarked, "There are two qualities in you..."[18]

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[13] *Al-Fath* (16/207-208).
[14] *Al-Fath* (16/208/H. 4371).
[15] *Muslim* (1/46 49/H. 17-18).
[16] He took it from Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/327-328). The *Hadith* was also documented by Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/206).
[17] His life is detailed in Ibn Athir's *Usdul-Ghābah* (1/96 & 4/417).
[18] Reported by Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/326-327); Abu Ya'la and Tabarāni through a strong chain as mentioned by the redactor of *Dalā'il*

The second deputation arrived in the ninth year. At that time they were forty in number as reported by a *Hadith* of Abu Haywah Sunābihi. The report is by Ibn Mandah. One of their men was Jārud 'Abdi.[19] Ibn Ishāq[20] gives us his story that he was originally a Christian who became a very good Muslim. That there were two delegations is supported by a report of Ibn Hibbān.[21] In that report, the Prophet ﷺ said, "Why is it that I see your hue has altered?" This tells us that he had seen them earlier, before their colors had changed.

Banu Hanifah Deputation

Bukhāri[22] reports through Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ that Musaylimah the liar, accompanied by a great number of men of his tribe Banu Hanifah, had come to see the Prophet ﷺ. He was saying, "If Muhammad would allow me inherit power after him, I'll follow him." The Prophet ﷺ went out to see him with Thābit bin Qays in his company. He had a dried date branch in his hand. He stood before Musaylimah and his men and said, "If you asked me for this dried branch I wouldn't give you. And, you will not be able to avert Allāh's Will. You will be destroyed as you return. I wished only to tell you what I have been shown about you. Otherwise, here is Thābit bin Qays who will answer your questions." Then he left.

Ibn 'Abbās later asked Abu Hurayrah about the Prophet's words, "I wished only to tell you what I have been shown about you." He replied that the Prophet ﷺ had said, "While I was asleep, I

An-Nubuwwah. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/55) who took it from Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah*. Bukhāri recorded it in his *Adabul-Mufrad*, p. 205, doing it in detail. He also reported through another chain through a man belonging to the delegation of 'Abdul-Qays, whom he didn't name as noted by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/208).
[19] Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/207-208).
[20] *Ibn Hishām* (4/293-294) a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report through Hasan Basri. Ibn Ishāq did not name the person he heard from; Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/161-162). In his version Ibn Ishāq clearly stated whom he heard from. Thus, only the *Irsāl* of Hasan Basri that remains the weakness.
[21] Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Fath* (16/208).
[22] *Al-Fath* (16/213/H. 4373).

saw two golden bracelets that were bothering me. Then Allāh revealed unto me in my sleep that I should blow on them. They flew off as I blew on them. I interpreted them to be two liars that will raise their heads after me. One of them was Ansi and the other Musaylimah."[23]

Musaylimah alighted into Bint Hārith quarters.[24] Her quarters had been prepared to receive him. This is what one understands from the reports of Bukhāri and Ibn Sa'd.[25] In fact, the narratives of Ibn Sa'd,[26] Wāqidi[27] and Ibn Ishāq[28] suggest that she used to help him in the detention of the slaves.

As for the report dealing with Musaylimah's letter to the Prophet ﷺ, you might refer to the chapter on "The Prophet's letters" that follows in this book. Bayhaqi,[29] Dhahabi,[30] and Abu Turāb[31] have collected together all the reports in this connection from a variety of sources.

The Najrān Delegation

It is proven by trustworthy reports that two leaders of the Najran area came to the Prophet ﷺ to enter into a *Mubāhalah* (mutual invocation of curse) on the liar.[32] But one of them told the

[23] *Al-Fath* (16/213/H. 4374, 4375). See the whole story in *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/523) by Ibn Shabbah through a weak chain of transmission, however, it has basis in *Sahih* reports.

[24] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/215/H. 4378).

[25] *At-Tabaqāt* (1/299, 300, 315, 216, 324, 331, 338, 344, 346).

[26] *At-Tabaqāt* (2/161), (7/102).

[27] *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. (2/512). This report further informs us that Banu Qurayzah were held in the quarters of Harith's daughter from where they were taken to execution.

[28] *Ibn Hishām* (3/333) through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain. He mentioned that Banu Qurayzah were detained in her house before being executed.

[29] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/330-335).

[30] *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. 682-686.

[31] *Wufudul-Islam*, pp. 34-48.

[32] *Mubāhalah* (invocation of mutual curse) has been mentioned in the following Verse: "*Say: 'Come, let us call our sons and your sons, our women and your women, ourselves and yourselves then we pray and invoke (sincerely)*

other, "Don't do it. If he is a Prophet we and our progeny will be destroyed." So they told the Prophet ﷺ, "We yield to your demand, so send us a trusted man; and," they emphasized, "don't send but a trustworthy person." He replied, "I shall send you someone trustworthy to a word." His Companions began to look up (hoping to be selected). He said, "Rise, O Abu 'Ubaydah bin Jarrāh." When he got up, the Prophet ﷺ said, "This is the *Amin* (trustworthy) of this community."[33] So, Abu 'Ubaydah went with them to judge in affairs in which they were disagreeing between themselves.[34] Ibn Ishāq[35] also recounts the story of the Najrān deputation. That report says that they sent a delegation while the Prophet ﷺ was still in Makkah. They were twenty or so in number. Ibn Ishāq has a second report that specifies that another deputation of sixty riders came to him in Madinah, fourteen of whom were of noble stock and of the fourteen, three were leaders whose decisions mattered. One of them was the *'Āqib*, the chief of the delegation. He was an experienced man and was always consulted in affairs of importance, without whose consultation no opinion held water. His name was 'Abdul-Masih. The second man called as *Sayyid* was heading the delegation. He was also responsible for journey affairs. His name was Ayham. The third was Abu Hārithah bin 'Alqamah. He was the bishop, scholar and in charge of their religious schools. Ibn Ishāq gives the names of the rest of the fourteen.

Bayhaqi,[36] Dhahabi[37] and Ibn Hajar[38] report through Ibn Ishāq,

the curse of Allāh upon those who lie.'" Surat Āl 'Imrān: 61.

[33] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/218/H. 4380, 4381), *Muslim* (4/1822/H. 2420) in brief.

[34] Ibn Ishāq, as a transmission of Muhammad bin Ja'far, Interrupted (*Munqati'*)–*Ibn Hishām* (2/266).

[35] *Ibn Hishām* (2/36, 245-257) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) and in detail.

[36] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/382-383).

[37] *Al-Maghāzi*, pp. 695-696. His version carries Buraydah bin Sufyān in its chain who was not too strong. Also he carried Shiite taint as noted by Ibn Hajar in *At-Taqrib*, p. 121. There is another person in that chain, Ibn Baylamāni (Muhammad bin 'Abdur-Rahmān), who was weak. In fact, Ibn 'Adi and Ibn Hibbān accused him (of lies).

[38] *Al-Isābah* (3/292) where it is mentioned that they were seventy in number including twenty-four of their chiefs.

with Kurz bin 'Alqamah as the narrator. Their report says that their noblemen were twenty-four in number and not fourteen, as in *Ibn Hishām*.

Ibn Sa'd[39] added: The Prophet ﷺ initially wrote to them and in response fourteen of their noblemen traveled to him. He recited the Qur'ān and invited them to Islam. They declined. So he invited them to mutual invocation of curse. They returned to their camps. Later, the two chiefs *'Āqib* and *Sayyid* returned to tell him, "We shall not answer your challenge to a mutual invocation of curse, but rather shall yield to your demands." And the two embraced Islam.

A Disconnected (*Mursal*) report preserved by Ibn Abu Shaybah says that the Prophet ﷺ said, "A messenger came to me (from Allāh) and told me that if the people of Najrān accept the invitation to mutual invocation of curse,[40] they will be destroyed." Yunus[41] bin Bukayr's collection has a report which says that they surrendered on: two thousand cloaks, (one thousand in Rajab and another thousand in Safar), and with every cloak a piece of silver. He also gives the details of the document that he got written between them. This narration says that the Prophet ﷺ wrote to the people of Najrān, inviting them to Islam. If they declined, then pay the tribute. And if they declined to pay, then war. They got scared and assembled themselves to consult over the issue. They agreed to send Shurahbil bin Wadā'ah Hamdāni, 'Abdullah bin Shurahbil Asbahi, and Sābir bin Fayd Hārithi. They were to collect news about

[39] *At-Tabaqāt* (1/357-358) through a weak chain for there occurs in the chain Muhammad bin 'Ali Qurayshi, who was truthful, and Abu Ma'shar Sindi who was weak (*At-Taqrib*, pp. 497, 559). But it gains strength from other supporting transmissions and the fact that the story of the delegation itself is in *Sahih* collections.

[40] Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/218). See Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/580-583) in brief, being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Sha'bi through a chain whose narrators are all reliable.

[41] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/385-391) in a lengthy form. But its chain is weak because of the unknowability of Salamah bin Yasu' and narrators above him. See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/60-64) and Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (2/43), where he attributed it to Bayhaqi commenting, "It suffers some unfamiliarity."

the Prophet ﷺ. When they came into Madinah, they changed their dresses, putting on cloaks that dragged behind them, and decorated themselves with golden rings. When they presented themselves to the Prophet ﷺ and greeted him, he did not answer them. They tried to talk to him the whole day but he would not talk to them. They consulted with 'Uthmān and Ibn 'Awf. The two consulted 'Ali. He advised that they remove their rich cloaks and golden rings and put on ordinary clothes. They did that. When they went to him again and greeted him, he answered their greetings and entered into a conversation with them. They asked him what he thought of Jesus. He said he would reply to them about him the next day. By the next day Verses 59-61 of *Āl 'Imrān* were revealed. They said:

﴿إِنَّ مَثَلَ عِيسَىٰ عِندَ ٱللَّهِ كَمَثَلِ ءَادَمَ. . . تَعَالَوْا نَدْعُ أَبْنَآءَنَا وَأَبْنَآءَكُمْ. . .﴾

"The likeness of 'Isa in Allāh's sight is similar to that of Adam whom He made out of dust and then said unto him: 'Be', and He was. The truth is from your Lord, therefore be not of the doubters. Hence, whoso disputes with you over him (O Muhammad), after the truth has come to you, tell (them): 'Come. Let us gather together our sons and your sons, our women and your women, and ourselves and yourselves and then pray and lay the curse of Allāh on those who lie.'"

So, the Prophet ﷺ invited them to mutual invocation of curse, and they agreed.

The next day the Prophet ﷺ came out with Hasan, Husayn and Fatimāh for mutual invocation of curse. But fear got the better of Shurahbil. The three then agreed to let the Prophet ﷺ decide about them. The Prophet ﷺ went back. On the next day they went up to him and he wrote a document for them. It said that they were to pay as tribute a thousand cloaks every Rajab and another thousand every Safar. He also mentioned other conditions. They took the document and returned to Najrān. When they handed over the document to the bishop, there happened to be with him his brother from the mother's side Bishr bin Mu'āwiyah. His surname was Abu 'Alqamah. As the bishop was reading the letter, while both he and his brother were moving on their mounts, Abu 'Alqamah's mount stumbled. Abu 'Alqamah cursed the Prophet, except that he did not

use his name explicitly. The bishop protested saying, "Are you cursing a Messenger of Allāh?" Bishr said, "By God, I shall not unbriddle my mount until I have presented myself to the Messenger of Allāh." He immediately turned his camel in the direction of Madinah. The bishop tried to prevent his journey that by words he had said, he had only meant to deceive the Arabs. But Bishr would not listen to him. He went to the Prophet ﷺ, embraced Islam and died a martyr later. It is after that the bishop came to the Prophet ﷺ along with the *Sayyid* and the *'Āqib*. They listened to the Qur'ān and returned with the document which promised peace to the Najrān people if they proved sincere in response.[42] These details are reported in trustworthy works also.

It is also established that the Prophet ﷺ sent them Mughirah bin Shu'bah. When he was with them they asked him, "Do you recite the Qur'ān which says, 'O sister of Harūn and Musa' while the two appeared several centuries before 'Isa?" When Mughirah returned, he asked the Prophet ﷺ about it. He answered, "They used to name their children after the names of their Prophets and righteous men of the past."[43]

The Ash'ari Deputation

A *Sahih* report coming through Abu Musa Ash'ari says that when they came to know of the Prophet's advent, a delegation came out of Yemen. It included himself and two of his (Abu Musa's) brothers, he being the youngest. The other two brothers were Abu Burdah and Abu Ruhm. All in all the delegation comprised fifty-three or fifty-five men. They mounted a boat but the winds took them to the Abyssinian coast. They were with Ja'far bin Abu Tālib and others when the latter were asked to appear in the court of

[42] *Al-Bayhaqi: Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/385-391). Ibn Kathir quoted it from *Al-Bidāyah* (5/61-64). The report of the arrival of the bishop, the chief of the delegate, and the organizer was reported by Ibn Ishāq once Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) and a second time Disconnected (*Mursal*) as a tradition of Muhammad bin Ja'far. See *Ibn Hishām* (2/265-266).

[43] *Muslim* (3/1684/H. 2135), Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (3/74/H. 3377) where he treated it as *Hasan*.

Najāshi. Later, Ja'far and others asked them to stay on since it was the Prophet ﷺ who had sent the earlier party and had instructed them to stay put. So, this new party also stayed with them, until they all returned together, joining the Prophet ﷺ at Khayber. The Prophet ﷺ gave them shares in its booty.[44]

The Two Himyar Delegations from Yemen

Ibn Hajar[45] has stated that he found in Ibn Shāhin's book a report coming through Iyās bin 'Umayr the Himyari, that he was one of the delegates that traveled up to the Prophet ﷺ. When they saw him they said, "We have come to you to learn religion. So, we ask you about the beginning of this affair." He replied, "Allāh was there (in the beginning) and nothing else was there other than Him. His *'Arsh* was then on water. Then He created the Pen and said, 'Write all that there is going to be.' Then He created the heavens and the earth and all that is in between, and assumed *Istawa'* on His *'Arsh*."

This is the same Himyar deputation which was mentioned in the *Hadith* works. It is reported that some men of Banu Tamim went up to the Prophet ﷺ. He told them, "Good news to you O Banu Tamim." They said, "Now that you have given us good news, give us (something material)." The Prophet's countenance altered. Then appeared the people of Yemen. The Prophet ﷺ told them, "Accept the good news. Banu Tamim didn't accept it." They said, "We accept, O Messenger of Allāh."[46]

That was in the 9th year after *Hijrah*.[47]

[44] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (12/222-223/H. 3136) and see Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/222), who treated the opinion of those as weak who thought they went to the Prophet ﷺ at Makkah before *Hijrah; Muslim* (4/1946/H. 2502) and others.

[45] *Al-Fath* (16/222) and (13/5-6) where a part of the *Hadith* was transmitted. The whole *Hadith* can be found in *Al-Isābah* (3/544) under the biography of Nafi' bin Zayd Himyari where he added that the chain has several unknown transmitters.

[46] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/223/H. 4386).

[47] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/222).

The Tay' Deputation

They came to the Prophet ﷺ in the company of Zayd Khayl whom the Prophet ﷺ named Zayd Khayr. He was their leader. They embraced Islam wholeheartedly. The Prophet ﷺ gave a piece of land to Zayd, and handed over a document to that effect. However, he died of fever during his return journey; and his wife burned down the letter that was with him after his death, out of ignorance.[48]

Banu 'Āmir Deputation

Hadith reports tell us that 'Āmir bin Tufayl went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "I will allow you a choice between three things: You shall have the city people, and I the desert nomads. Or, I shall be your successor after you. Or, I shall raid you with a thousand camels and a thousand horses." He was struck with a boil in the house of a woman he was staying with. He remarked, "A boil, like the boil of a camel's hump, in the house of a woman of such and such a tribe? Bring me my horse." He mounted the horse and died on it.[49]

Ahmad[50] and Abu Dāwud[51] have recorded through Mutarrif bin 'Abdullah, and he from his father that he said, "I went along with the Banu 'Āmir deputation to the Prophet ﷺ. We said, "You are our lord." He replied, "Allāh is the Lord, Most High." We said, "The best of us and the greatest amongst us." He replied, "Be deliberate with your words, or at least with some of them, and let not Satan take you for a ride."

Tabrāni[52] reported in his *Kabir* through Ibn 'Abbās ؓ that

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48 Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)–*Ibn Hishām* (4/296-297), *Ibn Sa'd* (1/321).

49 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/268/H. 4091). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (15/269): Tabarāni stated the lineage of the woman through a report coming from Sahl bin Sa'd who said, "A woman of the Salul clan."

50 *Al-Musnad* (4/25).

51 *Sunan*: (5/154/The Book of *Adab*/H. 4806). The chain of Ahmad and Abu Dāwud is reliable as the verifier of *Zādul-Ma'ād* said (3/603). See the *Hadith* in Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/318) there being a transmission of Yazid bin 'Abdullah bin 'Ala'.

52 Ibn Kathir: *Tārikh* (*Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah*) (5/68-69), and the *Tafsir* (4/

Arbad bin Qays bin Jaz' and 'Āmir bin Tufayl went to see the Prophet ﷺ. As they entered, they found him sitting. They sat down before him and Ibn Tufayl began to say, "What will you give me if I embraced Islam?" He replied, "You shall have what the Muslims have and upon you will be what is upon the Muslims." 'Āmir asked, "Will you name me your successor, if I became a Muslim?" He replied, "That is something neither for you nor for your people. But, I could give you a few horses." He said, "I am already surrounded by the horses of the people of Najd. Let me have the desert dwellers and you shall have the city dwellers." The Prophet ﷺ said no. When he got up he said, "By Allāh, I shall fill the place with horses and men against you." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "Allāh will prevent you." Thereafter, Ibn Tufayl and Arbad decided among themselves to kill the Prophet ﷺ treacherously. The plan was that Ibn Tufayl should distract the Prophet ﷺ through a conversation while Arbad would strike. Thereafter, the affair would be decided by blood money since the people would not like to fight. But Allāh (ﷻ) saved the Prophet ﷺ as Arbad could not act as planned. Allāh destroyed 'Āmir with a boil and Arbad with a thunderbolt. Allāh revealed,

﴿ٱللَّهُ يَعْلَمُ مَا تَحْمِلُ كُلُّ أُنثَىٰ وَمَا تَغِيضُ ٱلْأَرْحَامُ وَمَا تَزْدَادُ﴾ -إلى قوله- ﴿لَهُۥ مُعَقِّبَٰتٌ مِّنۢ بَيْنِ يَدَيْهِ وَمِنْ خَلْفِهِۦ﴾ يعنى محمدا، و ﴿وَيُرْسِلُ ٱلصَّوَٰعِقَ فَيُصِيبُ بِهَا مَن يَشَآءُ﴾الآيات.

"Allāh knows what every female bears, what the wombs fall short of or exceed, and everything with Him is in a (well-defined) measure. Knower of the Unseen and the visible, the Great, the Exalted. Equal unto Him of you is he who conceals his speech and he who pronounces it, whether he lies concealed by the night or walks forth freely by the day. For him there are successive

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366-367). The chain has 'Abdul-'Aziz bin 'Imrān in it who had been abandoned. (We know that the death of Ibn Tufayl in plague is proven by trustworthy reports.) This story was also reported by Ibn Ishāq through a Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) chain. *Ibn Hishām* (4/286) mentioned the reason behind the revelation of these Verses using the same chain as of Tabarāni but he kept it Suspended failing to mention who was above Zayd bin Aslam.

(angels), before him and behind him, guarding over him by Allāh's command. Verily, Allāh changes not what is with a people until they change what is in their selves. When Allāh intends evil for a people, there is no turning it back, and they do not have besides Him a protector. It is He who shows you the lightning, driving in fear and evoking hope; and generates the heavy clouds. The thunder extols His glory, and (so do) the angels in awe of Him. He sends the thunderbolts and strikes therewith whom He wills, while they are disputing about Allāh. And He is Mighty in power."[53]

Banu 'Āmir sent another delegation headed by 'Āmir bin Mālik, nicknamed *Mulā'ibul-Asinnah*. The Prophet ﷺ invited him to Islam. He neither accepted nor declined, but said, "O Messenger of Allāh. If you send a group of your Companions to the people of Najd to invite them to Islam, I believe the response will be good." That resulted in the Bi'r Ma'unah incident discussed earlier in this work in detail.

It is also reported that 'Āmir bin Mālik sent someone to the Prophet ﷺ seeking some medication. The Prophet ﷺ sent him some honey.[54] Ibn Shabbah[55] has narrated that he came down to the Prophet ﷺ in the company of twenty-five riders of Banu Ja'far and Banu Bakr. One of them was Dahhāk bin Sufyān the Kilābi. The Prophet ﷺ appointed Dahhāk as their leader, retaining 'Āmir as the leader of the Banu Ja'far. He also instructed Dahhāk to treat 'Āmir well. This leads us to believe that ultimately 'Āmir went to see the Prophet ﷺ as a Muslim. Ibn Hajar[56] seems to be inclined to believe that *Mulā'ibul-Asinnah* was in fact a Companion.

53 *Surat Ar-Ra'd*: 8-13.

54 Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (2/258) who attributed it to Ibn 'Arabi in his *Mu'jam* and Ibn Mandah as well as Baghawi adding that Baghawi traced it through a reliable chain.

55 *Tārikhul-Madinah Al-Munawarah* (2/597-598) being a transmission of Ibn Ishāq through his masters in the Banu 'Āmir. Thus the report is Interrupted (*Munqati'*).

56 *Al-Isābah* (2/258) biography of 'Āmir bin Mālik. See Ibn Hajar's discussion over this matter.

The Judhām Deputation

Rifā'ah bin Zayd Judhāmi came to the Prophet ﷺ along with ten men of his tribe during the peace-treaty period between Hudaybiyah and Khayber. He embraced Islam and became a good Muslim. He gifted a slave to the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ wrote a document for him and sent him back to his people. He invited his people to Islam and they became Muslims.[57]

Banu Sa'd bin Bakr's Deputation

Banu Sa'd bin Bakr sent Dimām bin Tha'labah to the Prophet ﷺ. He alighted from his camel right at the door of the mosque and tied it there. As he entered, he found the Prophet ﷺ sitting in with a few Companions. He began to ask about the pillars of Islam that he had heard of. He abjured him at every question to speak out in the name of Allāh. The Prophet ﷺ replied in the words he demanded. When the questioning was over, he pronounced the two testimonies and embraced Islam. Then he returned to his camel and headed straight to his people. He told them about Islam and invited them to become Muslims, denouncing Lāt and 'Uzza. They all became Muslims. Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ remarked, "We never heard of a leader of a delegation better than Dimām bin Tha'labah."[58]

57 Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/322-323); Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābāh* (3/441) presenting a *Hadith* of Ibn Ishāq as a narration of 'Umayr bin Ma'bad, son of so-and-so, the Judhāmi, he from his father; *Ibn Sa'd* (1/354) originally a report of Wāqidi; Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/72); Ibn Mandah through Humayd bin Rumān. See also Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (1/518); Umawi and Mahāmili as quoted by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (3/441-442); Tabarāni in complete as well as abridged forms through Ibn Ishāq. The complete version has several unknown transmitters as mentioned by Haythami in *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (5/309-310). What strengthens the report is the *Hadith* of the *Sahihayn* that Rifā'ah bin Zayd gifted a black slave named Mid'am. The killing in the Wādi Al-Qura is mentioned to have happened when the Prophet ﷺ was returning from Khyber as in trustworthy reports.

58 Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/291-293). Ahmad also reported through him in his *Musnad, Al-Fathur-Rabbāni*: (21/208-209). Ibn Kathir also reported it through other than Ibn Ishāq: *Al-Bidāyah wan-*

The context also tells us that he returned to his people before the fall of Makkah. For, as we know, 'Uzza was destroyed by Khālid after the fall of Makkah.[59]

His story also tells us that the Islamic message was well spread among the Arab tribes. Dimām had not gone to learn the five pillars of Islam. He had gone to get confirmation. That is why he asked questions one after another, in proper order, without any break. This meant he had learnt well the five pillars before coming.

The Daws Deputation and the Story of Tufayl bin 'Amr

Ibn Ishāq[60] reported that Tufayl bin 'Amr Dawsi visited Makkah while the Prophet ﷺ was still there. A few of the Quraysh went up to him – for he was a renounced poet – in their efforts not to let him hear the Prophet ﷺ. They proffered so many reasons that finally he was convinced that he should better avoid hearing him. So he stuffed his ears with cotton before going up to the Grand Mosque. He stood somewhere close to the Prophet ﷺ, and Allāh (ﷻ) had decided that he should hear some words from him. When he overheard a few words he told himself that after all since he himself was a renowned poet, he was in a good position to judge between good and bad literary productions. So he hung along until the Prophet ﷺ began to retreat. He followed his footsteps to his house, entered into it and told him all that had happened. He heard the Prophet's message and became a Muslim. He asked the Prophet ﷺ to give him something as a sign that he could use in his efforts to

Nihayah (5/70-72) as did Hākim: *Al-Mustadrak* (3/54-55) and Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/521), Ibn Athir: *Usdul-Ghābah*, Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/374-377), *Ibn Sa'd* (1/299), Ibn Mājah: *Sahih Ibn Mājah*–Albāni (1/235-236/H. 1402) which Albāni declared trustworthy in *Sahih Abu Dāwud* (504).

[59] This was said by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/70).

[60] See *Ibn Hishām* (2/25-29) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). The two verifiers of the *Dalā'il* of Abu Nu'aym said (1/238): "Ibn Ishāq completed the chain as in certain copies of *Al-Maghāzi*, doing it through Sālih bin Kaysān through Tufayl bin 'Amr, which is in all other copies without a chain." And, until now we have not been able to discover it through his chain in order to make a decision.

spread Islam in his tribesmen. So Allāh made the tip of his whip emanate light. When he returned, the first to believe in him were his parents. The Daws tribe itself delayed their decision. So he returned to the Prophet ﷺ and asked him to pray for the destruction of his tribe. But the Prophet ﷺ said, "O Allāh, guide the Daws people." Then he told him, "Return to your tribe, invite them to Islam, and be soft with them." So he returned and began to preach. He continued from that time on, until after the battle of the Ditch. Then he collected together those of his tribesmen who had embraced Islam and went up to the Prophet ﷺ. He was then at Khayber. They were between seventy and eighty families. When they arrived at Khayber, the Prophet ﷺ gave them share in its booty.[61] He remained with the Prophet ﷺ until the time Makkah fell when he requested that he be sent to Dhul-Kaffayn for the destruction of its idol 'Amr bin Hamamah. He burned[62] it down as he reached the place.

The report in words, "O Allāh, guide the Daws people," is in *Sahih* books of Bukhāri and Muslim.[63] Muslim's[64] report confirms that Tufayl had first gone to see the Prophet ﷺ when he was in Makkah. According to that report, narrated by Jābir ؓ, when Tufayl met the Prophet ﷺ he told him, "O Messenger of Allāh. Do you wish to take refuge in a strong fort?" He meant the Daws fort. But the Prophet ﷺ refused because he knew this was in *Ansār's* share.

[61] This was mentioned before when talking about dividing the spoils of Khayber expedition.

[62] This was mentioned before when dealing with campaigns between Tā'if and Tabuk – chapter 24.

[63] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/227/H. 4392) with the following words: "Tufayl bin 'Amr came to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "Daws community have perished as they disobeyed and refused to accept Islam. So invoke Allāh against them." But the Prophet ﷺ said, "O Allāh! Guide the Daws people and bring them (in the fold of Islam)" – *Muslim* (4/1957/H. 2524) wherein "Daws have disbelieved and refused" ... at which it was said, "Daws are destroyed." This *Hadith* was also reported by Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (13/39/H. 7313/Shākir), where Shākir thought it reliable. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (2/110): "Its chain is strong but the collectors did not document it." This shows that the narration as it came from Ibn Ishāq has a basis. This is also strengthened by the reliable reports about their visit to the Prophet ﷺ when he was at Khyber.

[64] *Sahih Muslim* (1/108-109/H. 116).

When he emigrated to Madinah, Tufayl also emigrated along with some of his tribesmen.

Farwah bin Musayk Murādi's Delegation

Biographers have long reports concerning the delegation led by Farwah bin Musayk Murādi. He abandoned the Kindah kingdom and distanced himself from its people. He embraced Islam and the Prophet ﷺ used him for the collection of *Zakāt* from the tribes of Murād, Zubayd and Madhhij. He sent Khālid bin Sa'eed bin 'Ās with him. The latter stayed with him in his lands until the Prophet ﷺ died.[65]

Some of the *Hadith* collectors have also reports that confirm the delegation. For example, Imam Ahmad[66] and Tirmidhi[67] have, through their own sources, reported Farwah bin Musayk as saying, "I went up to Allāh's Messenger. I asked him, 'O Messenger of Allāh. Should I fight along with those of my people who have come forward (in favor of Islam) against those who have remained behind?' He answered, 'Yes. Fight with those who have come forward of your people, against those who have remained behind.' But, as I turned to go, he called me back and added, 'But do not fight them until you have invited them to Islam.'"

[65] Ibn Ishāq—*Ibn Hishām* (4/303-304); Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/134-136), through Ibn Ishāq via an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain since 'Abdullah did not name whom he heard from, nor did Ibn Ishāq clearly mention having personally heard it; *Ibn Sa'd* (1/327) through Wāqidi. In any case Ibn Ishāq's narrative is strengthened by the reliable reports that detail Farwah's death.

[66] Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (6/492), some of the verifiers said they could not find this *Hadith* in the *Musnad*. Ibn Kathir said that this *Hadith* is pretty strong although it has in its chain Abu Janāb Kalbi over whom there has been differences in opinion, but he added, "But Ibn Jarir has reported it in the *Tafsir* (22/53)."

This report has its strength in others such as of Abu Hātim who traces it to 'Ali bin Rabāh. Ibn Kathir also used it in his *Tafsir* (6/492) adding, "There is some unfamiliarity in it since it mentions the Verse "*Surely there is for the people of Saba' in their dwellings...*" although the whole of the chapter is Makkan.

[67] Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (3/95-96/H. 3452). He declared it *Hasan-Sahih*

Kindah's Delegation

Ibn Ishāq[68] has written that Ash'ath bin Qays went to the Prophet ﷺ leading a delegation of 80 men. When they entered upon him in their silk-embroidered robes, he disapproved of their attires, for they were Muslims. So, they tore them off. On that occasion they told the Prophet ﷺ, "O Messenger of Allāh, we consume *Murār* (a vegetable),[69] while you are the son of similar vegetable eaters." He smiled and said, "'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib and Rabi'ah bin Hārith were also similarly related." Now, the two were traders. When they became famous in the Arab world and whenever asked, "Whom do you belong to?" they would reply, "We are consumers of *Murār*." They intended to relate themselves to Kindah in order to gain prestige. For, Kindah were known as kings and rulers. Kindah began to believe that the Quraysh were of them because of the words of 'Abbās and Rabi'ah. The Prophet then added, "No. Rather, we are the sons of Nadr bin Kinānah. We do not wish to attach ourselves to others[70] or forfeit our forefathers." Thereafter Kindah said to his people, "By Allāh, O people of Kindah. Hereafter if I hear any such thing from anybody, I'll give him eighty lashes."

A portion of this report has been preserved by Imam Ahmad,[71] Ibn Mājah[72] and Ibn Shabbah.[73] And that portion is the Prophet's words, "No. Rather, we are the sons of Nadr..."

(Good & Sound). See the *Hadith* in *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/549-551) by Ibn Shabbah through two weak chains that strengthen the reports of Ahmad and Tirmidhi.

[68] *Ibn Hishām* (4/307-309) being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) narrative of Zuhri.

[69] *Murār* a bitter plant eaten by camels that has several effects on them.

[70] The words mean, lit., we do not follow their genealogical connections.

[71] See *Al-Musnad* (5/212), and *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/177). Sā'āti said this *Hadith* was reported by Ibn Mājah. Busiri said in *Zawā'id Ibn Mājah* that the *Hadith* has a good chain of narrators.

[72] Albāni: *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (2/no. 2115-2612). Albāni said the *Hadith* is Good (*Hasan*) while the verifiers of *Zādul-Ma'ād* said it is Strong (*Qawi*) (3/618).

[73] *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/547) through an authentic chain.

Zubayd's Delegation

Biographers have mentioned that 'Amr bin Ma'dikarib traveled to the Prophet ﷺ along with some other men of Banu Zubayd and embraced Islam. It is also reported that he abandoned Islam during the Apostasy movement.[74] However, he returned to Islam once again and became a good Muslim.[75] It is also said that he actually never saw the Prophet ﷺ. This is deduced from a few of his poetical pieces.[76] However, his delegation had arrived in the ninth year after *Hijrah*. But Ibn Ishāq and Wāqidi say it was in the tenth year.[77]

A Special Delegation of A'sha bin Māzin

A man called A'sha presented himself to the Prophet ﷺ. His true name was 'Abdullah A'war of the Banu Māzin. He was seeking the Prophet's help to get back his wife who had sought refuge with another man of his tribe called Mutarrif bin Nahshal. The Prophet ﷺ helped him by writing to Mutarrif. He responded by returning A'sha's wife to him.[78]

Azd's Delegation and then the Delegation of the Jurash

Surad bin 'Abdullah Azdi visited the Prophet ﷺ along with a few people of Azd and embraced Islam, becoming a very good

[74] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/304-306); Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/132-134) being a narration of Ibn Ishāq through his master 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr, but he did not clearly mentioned having heard it (from him); and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/328) as a narration of Wāqidi.

[75] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/328) through Wāqidi. See his biography in *Al-Isābah* (1813-1821), and *Al-Isti'āb* (2/520).

[76] Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/82-83) which he attributed it to Ibn Ishāq as originally a narration by Yunus bin Bukayr.

[77] Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/82) *Mu'allaq*.

[78] Being a narration of 'Abdullah son of Imam Ahmad, from *Ziyādātul-Musnad*, quoted by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/84-85). But its chain is weak. It is also a report of Ibn Abu 'Āsim, Baghawi, and Ibn Sakan also through 'Abdullah bin Ahmad that Ibn Hajar quoted in *Al-Isābah* (3/555-556).

Muslim. The Prophet ﷺ appointed him the leader of those who had embraced Islam from his tribe. He also asked him to fight along with those of his men who had believed against those pagan tribes that surrounded his territory from the Yemen side. Following that command, he besieged Jurash. It was then a well-protected city that housed Yemeni tribes. In fact, another tribe called Khath'am had also joined them in the city. They retreated to their fort and he laid siege to it which lasted a month. Then he gave up. As he was returning and was on a mountain called Kashar, they realized he was going away and had lifted the siege. They came out in his chase. When the two forces met, 'Abdullah gave a good fight and killed quite a few of them.

On the other hand, the people of Jurash had sent two men to Madinah to find out what the Prophet's message was. As they were with him, the Prophet ﷺ announced to them that their people had met with their destruction. They requested that he pray that they be not destroyed. When they returned to their people, they discovered that what the Prophet ﷺ had said had already happened, right at the time and place that he had mentioned. So, they sent another delegation to the Prophet ﷺ and they all became Muslims.[79]

Abu Nu'aym and Abu Musa Madini have narrated the report of Ahmad bin Abu Hawwāri, from Dārāni, from 'Alqamah bin Yazid bin Suwayd Azdi, from his father, from his grandfather Suwayd bin Hārith, as 'Askari, Rushāti and Ibn 'Asākir have also reported—through two chains—as Abu Sa'eed Nisapuri has also done in his book *Sharful-Mustafa*—through a second chain—that he said, "I was the seventh of the seven who went to the Prophet ﷺ..." He also narrated what the Prophet ﷺ admonished them about a few qualities as well a few qualities that they already possessed in pre-Islamic times. Then the Prophet ﷺ added five more qualities to make them twenty. The five that he added were, "Do not save back

[79] Being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/309-311), and reported by Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/158-159) through Ibn Ishāq through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain, in turn a narrative of his master 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr. He clearly stated having heard from him; *Ibn Sa'd* (1/337-338) being a report of Wāqidi.

what you cannot consume, do not construct what you will not live in, do not compete over something that you will leave behind soon, fear Allāh to Whom you will return and to Whom you will be presented, and take care of what you send forward and which will last (in the Hereafter)." They went away, with the admonition well preserved in their hearts.[80]

One of those who was present in the delegation of the Azd tribe was called Khabāwah bin Mālik, the Azdi.[81]

This delegation was also known as 'The Azd Shanu'ah Delegation.' There was another tribe called Azd in Oman that had sent a delegation to the Prophet ﷺ. We shall talk about it presently. In this connection one might see Shāmi's *Subulul-Huda war-Rashād* (6/402).

Arrival of a Messenger from the Rulers of Himyar

A messenger of the Himyar rulers arrived carrying a letter in which they announced their Islam. This happened after the Prophet's return from Tabuk. The rulers concerned were: Hārith bin 'Abd Kulāl, Nu'aym bin 'Abd Kulal, Nu'mān (the companion of Dhi Ru'ayn), Ma'āfir and Hamdān. Zur'ah Dhu Yazan Mālik bin Murrah Rahāwi had sent the man informing him of their Islam. The Prophet ﷺ wrote them a letter instructing them about what their rights and duties were. He also wrote about the rates of *Zakāt* as well as of *Jizyah* to be levied on those who had remained on Judaism or Christianity. He also wrote the names of those he was sending to them: Mu'ādh bin Jabal, 'Abdullah bin Zayd, Mālik bin 'Ubādah, 'Uqbah bin Namir, Mālik bin Murrah and others. Mu'ādh was their leader. The Prophet ﷺ instructed them to treat his messengers well.[82]

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[80] Reported by Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (2/98) in the biography of Suwayd bin Hārith Azdi. But its chain is weak since 'Alqamah bin Yazid bin Suwayd is not known. Further the report is *Munkar* so it cannot be argued with as said by Dhahabi in *Al-Mizān*.

[81] Ibn Athir: *Usdul-Ghābah* (1/299-300).

[82] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/311-313), *Ibn Sa'd* (1/256) in brief, through Wāqidi; 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (4/136);

That was in the Ramadān of the ninth year after *Hijrah*.[83]

Arrival of Jarir bin 'Abdullah Bajali

The Prophet ﷺ was delivering a sermon in the mosque when Jarir entered into Madinah. The Prophet ﷺ mentioned him in his sermon before Jarir could enter into the mosque. He said, "Soon someone will enter from this door—or he said, from this opening—who is one of the best of those to be of blessed (nature), except that he has the mark of a king on his face."[84] He embraced Islam on the Prophet's hand and he honored[85] him by giving him his own cloak saying, "When an honorable man comes to you, treat him well."[86]

It appears that his Islam was after the fall of Makkah. For, Imam Ahmad reported him as saying, "I embraced Islam after *Surat Al-Mā'idah* had been revealed, and I saw the Prophet ﷺ wiping on his socks (during ablution) after I became a Muslim."[87]

Ibn Sa'd[88] has mentioned the names of those that were with him and embraced Islam along with him. They were some fifty men.[89] That was in the tenth year after *Hijrah* in Ramadān.[90] There are, however, other reports that say that Jarir went to the Prophet ﷺ

Bayhaqi: *Sunan* (4/130) both of them in brief through a single chain which is reliable.

[83] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/86) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[84] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/216), and Tabarāni. The narrators of the two are reliable. The advent of the delegation of Bujaylah is confirmed by the *Hadith* of Abu Dāwud Tayālisi, who did it through a reliable chain, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Isābah* (2/220). It says that the Prophet ﷺ prayed for them.

[85] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/140/H. 2714, 2715), *Muslim* (1/75/H. 56). See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihayah* (5/89).

[86] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il* (5/347) and others. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/89): "This is an Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) report."

[87] Ibn Kathir, *Al-Bidāyah* (5/90) who remarked "Ahmad is the lone transmitter, but the chain is reliable, unless it is broken between him and Mujāhid."

[88] *At-Tabaqāt* (1/347) through Wāqidi.

[89] This number is in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/191-192/H. 4356-4357).

[90] Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/311-313) through Wāqidi.

along with a hundred men of the Banu Bujaylah and Banu Qushayr.[91] It is also said that the delegated men were seven hundred.[92] Another report says they were five hundred.[93]

The Hadramawt Delegation

Wā'il bin Hujr, one of the important princelings of Hadramawt arrived to see the Prophet ﷺ. His father ruled over those princelings. It is said that the Prophet ﷺ spoke of his arrival before he showed up, saying, "The remnant of the past kings is coming to you." When Wā'il arrived, the Prophet ﷺ welcomed him and gave him a seat close to himself, spreading his shawl for him to sit. He said on that occasion, "O Allāh. May You place Your blessing on Wā'il, his sons and his grandsons." He then appointed him over the princely states of Hadramawt and gave him a piece of land. He also sent Mu'āwiyah bin Abu Sufyān along with him to show him that piece of land. Mu'āwiyah was on his feet while Wā'il was riding a beast. Mu'āwiyah complained of the heat and requested that he be accommodated on the camel. But Wā'il rebuked him saying, "Be quiet. You are not of those who can ride behind kings. Stay within the shadow of the camel." Later, it should happen that Hujr was sent to Mu'āwiyah heading a delegation. At that time Mu'āwiyah was the Leader of the Faithful. He mentioned to him the story.[94]

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[91] Reported by Hākim in *Al-Iklil* being a report of Bara' bin 'Āzib, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/191).

[92] Tabarāni, through a weak chain as mentioned by Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/191).

[93] This was mentioned by Ibn Sakan in *Kitābus-Sahābah*, as mentioned by Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/191). One might see Ibn Hajar at this point for the reconciliation between different reports.

[94] Ibn Abdul-Barr: *Al-Isti'āb* (3/642-643); Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (3/628-629) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). Abu Dāwud in his *Sunan* mentioned the story of the Prophet ﷺ offering a piece of land to Wā'il (3/443/The Book of *Khirāj*); Tirmidhi: *Sahih Tirmidhi* by Albāni (2/52/The Book of *Ta'ām*/H. 1412); Ibn Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah* (2/579). Abu Dāwud did not mention the story of Mu'āwiyah and Wā'il. Tirmidhi's report says that the Prophet ﷺ sent Mu'āwiyah to Wā'il to hand over the piece of land. Beyond that he didn't say anything. One might see *Mukhtasar* of Mundhiri, no. 2936.

In any case, the Prophet ﷺ asked Wā'il to climb over the pulpit which he did. Then he prayed for him, passed his hand over his head and said, "O Allāh! May You place blessing on Wā'il, his sons and his grandsons." Then the prayer-call was made so that the people could celebrate the coming of Wā'il to the Prophet ﷺ.[95]

The Delegation of the Banu Muntafiq

Laqit bin 'Āmir bin Muntafiq presented himself to the Prophet ﷺ along with his companion known as Nahik bin 'Āsim. They entered upon the Prophet ﷺ when he had done his morning prayer and had stood up to address the people. When he finished his sermon, Ibn 'Āmir went forward and said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Do you have the knowledge of the Unknown?" The Prophet ﷺ answered him in suitable terms. He asked a few more questions and the Prophet ﷺ patiently answered all of them. All this is in a long report.[96]

The Suda' Delegation

Bayhaqi[97] reports through Ziyād bin Hārith the Sudā'i that he

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As regard the Prophet ﷺ giving good tidings to his Companions about Wā'il before his advent, it was reported by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* (5/175-176) and Tabarāni, as indicated by the verifier of Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (5/349). The report is also in *Ibn Hibbān* as pointed out by Ibn Hajar, and in *Al-Bazzār* as referred to by the verifier of *Dala'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (5/349), and Bukhāri: *Tārikhul-Kabir* (4/175-176).

[95] Being a narrative of Tabarāni and Abu Nu'aym as mentioned by the verifier of *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (5/350).

[96] Narrated by 'Abdullah bin Ahmad in *Al-Musnad*: (4/211-212) from whom Ibn Kathir quoted: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/91-94) who added, "This is a highly Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) report with plenty of doubtful things in it."

[97] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (5/355-357). The redactor said, "Baghawi and Ibn 'Asākir recorded it with the later declaring it *Hasan*. It has come through Ziyād bin Hārith Suda'i. A part of it is also recorded by Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (1/326-327). It has supportive elements but weak such as in Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (2/281/The Book of *Zakāt*/H. 1360). However this one has 'Abdur-Rahmān the African who was doubted by more than one

went to the Prophet ﷺ and embraced Islam on his hand. When he came to know that the Prophet ﷺ had sent an army towards his tribe, he requested that the army be called back. He promised to come back to the Prophet ﷺ with the good news of the conversion of his people. The Prophet ﷺ agreed to his proposal. So, Sudā'i wrote to his people. Following that a group of his people came up, announcing their Islam. The Prophet ﷺ appointed Ziyād as their chief and wrote of his decision to his people. He also instructed him that when asked he will pay the *Zakāt*. Ziyād asked that this also be written and so he got that also written.

Once Ziyād happened to be in the company of the Prophet ﷺ in a campaign. He heard from the Prophet ﷺ, "There is no good for a believer in leadership," (which he said when the people of a leader complained against their chief). Ziyād also heard him say, (when somebody asked him for material help), "Whoever asked the people without being in want, it is for him a pain in the head and a sickness in the stomach." When he heard these things from the Prophet ﷺ, Ziyād returned the two letters to him. So the Prophet ﷺ appointed another man in his place as a chief.

Later, when Ziyād saw the miracle of water flowing from the Prophet's fingers, he spoke to the Prophet ﷺ about the wells of his own people in which water was high in winter but went low in summer. The Prophet ﷺ gave him seven pebbles and instructed him to throw one by one into the well, each in the Name of Allāh. They did that and the well remained filled with water both in winter, as well as in summer, to such levels that nobody was able to see bottom.[98]

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expert. Thus it is weak." See it also in Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (1/253/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 199), Ibn Mājah: *Sunan* no. 717, and Ibn 'Abdul-Hakam: *Fath Misr*, p. 312.

[98] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/326) being a narrative of Wāqidi. He has it that the leader of the campaign was Qays bin Sa'd bin 'Ubādah who had with him four hundred men and that the Suda' delegation that arrived was made up of fifteen men. See the story of Ziyād's travel with the Prophet ﷺ along with the lessons to be learnt in Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/664-669).

The Thaqif Delegation

The Thaqif tribe sent a delegation to the Prophet ﷺ in the month of Ramadān, the ninth year after he had returned from Tabuk. It was led by 'Abd Yālil bin 'Amr. He had three companions from Banu Mālik and two from the Ahlāf in his company. They announced that they and their people had embraced Islam. The Prophet ﷺ wrote down a letter for them.[99] They requested that the destruction of their deity Lāt be delayed for three years, fearing their people's backlash. The Prophet ﷺ refused. However, he spared them the job of destruction, promising to send Abu Sufyān and Mughirah bin Shu'bah to do it. They also asked to be spared the prayers, because they could not bend down for the bows and prostrations. He refused that also and told them, "There is no good in an Islam in which there are no prayers."[100] Finally, they said they be spared *Zakāt* and *Jihād*. He agreed to that and remarked, "Once Muslims, they will offer *Zakāt* and participate in *Jihād*."[101] They also asked for the following: (a) that the commandment about ablution be annulled for them since their land was a cold place; (b) that they be allowed to ferment intoxicants, and (c) Abu Bakrah Thaqafi be returned to them. The Prophet ﷺ rejected all their demands.[102]

He appointed 'Uthmān bin Abu 'Ās as the *Amir* over them. He was their youngest, but the most interested in learning the Qur'ān

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[99] This was reported by Abu 'Ubayd in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 247, and Ibn Zanjuyah in *Al-Amwāl*, p. 442. It is a long letter that they said the Prophet ﷺ wrote to Thaqif. It is a Disconnected (*Mursal*) version of 'Urwah which has a weak chain because of Ibn Lahiy'ah. That letter speaks of the forbiddance of the thorny trees and hunting in Wajj.

The forbiddance of the thorny trees and hunting in Wajj also figures in a report of Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (1/165), Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (1/468/The Book of *Manāsik*), Humaydi in *Musnad* (1/34), Bayhaqi in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (5/200). Dr. Quraybi has, in his book *Marwiyyāt Ghazwah Hunayn*, pp. 784-790, studied all the various reports and his conclusion is that the forbiddance of the trees and hunting at Waij (a place in Tā'if) does not stand on strong grounds.

[100] Ibn Ishāq, through a Faulty (*Mu'dal*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/249).

[101] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (2/146) through a *Hasan* chain.

[102] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/168). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (4/218), "Its narrators are reliable."

and understanding the religion of Islam.[103]

They returned to their lands after having stayed in Madinah for fifteen days. Abu Sufyān bin Harb and Mughirah bin Shu'bah went with them. They were to destroy the Lāt idol. When the two got there, women came out weeping. When Mughirah had finished the destruction, and had taken away all the gold and silver that was hoarded in it,[104] the people around feared that the deity would come down on the two and punish them. Mughirah made fun of their idea by throwing away the shovel, and running around madly. They said, "This is the punishment from the deity." But he laughed, came back and admonished them about the Oneness of Allāh. Then he resumed the destruction.[105]

'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu 'Aqil and his People's Delegation

Bayhaqi[106] has a report coming through 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu 'Aqil. It narrates the story of his delegation to the Prophet ﷺ in the company of a number of people of his tribe. He said, "I went out along with a delegation to see the Prophet ﷺ. We halted at his place in a state in which he was one of the most hated that we ever wished to go to. But when we came back, it was in a state in which he was one of the most beloved we ever went to see. One of our men asked,

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[103] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/218), Ibn Mājah: *Sunan* (1/316), *Muslim* (1/342/H. 468) who hinted at his leadership.

[104] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/251).

[105] Being a narrative of Musa bin 'Uqbah, quoted by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/39).

[106] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/358), the verifier Dr. Abdul-Mu'ti Qala'ji said, "Reported by Ibn Mandah, Tabarāni and Bazzār through reliable narrators." See the biography of this 'Abdur-Rahmān in *Al-Isābah* (2/411-412), *Al-Isti'āb* (2/416-417). Ibn Kathir reported in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/96-97) a version in which the text is different from the version in Bayhaqi, yet the redactor of Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* stated that "Ibn Kathir took it from him." Indeed both the text and the chains are different. See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Matālibul-'Āliyah* (4/387); Haythami: *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (10/371) who attributed it to Tabarāni and Bazzār adding, "Its narrators are trustworthy." Busiri added the attribution to Ibn Abu Shaybah saying, "The chains of the two are trustworthy."

'O Messenger of Allāh. Why did you not ask your Lord for a kingdom like that of Sulaymān?' He smiled and said, 'Maybe your man is better in the eyes of his Lord than King Sulaymān. For, Allāh did not send a Prophet but allowed him a supplication that was to be answered. Some of them took whatever they wished in this world itself. Others used it for the destruction of their disbelieving people. Allāh allowed me also a supplication that will be answered. I have saved it for the Day of Judgement when I shall use it for interceding for my people.'"

It looks to me, although Allāh (ﷻ) knows best, that 'Abdur-Rahmān's delegation went along with those people of Thaqif about whom we have already spoken a little earlier.

Bakr's Delegation

A man called Hārith, or maybe Hurayth, bin Hassān Bakri was sent to the Prophet ﷺ on a special mission. It was perhaps a complaint against 'Ala' bin Hadrami, but which the reports do not clarify.[107] While he was passing by Rabadhah, he came across an old woman of Banu Tamim, who was cut off from her people. She requested that he take her to the Prophet ﷺ. So he brought her on his mount to Madinah. When the Prophet ﷺ intended to place Dahna' as a barrier between Tamim and Bakr, she objected that Dahna' lands were hers. Hassān said, "I seek Allāh's refuge that I should be like the one sent by 'Ād. I brought this woman without knowing that she is going to contend against me."

According to a narration in Ibn Sa'd[108] concerning the delegation of Shaybān, Hassān had brought this woman from his lands, i.e., those of Banu Shaybān, and not from Rabadhah. That report also says that he had arrived at a time when the Prophet ﷺ was preparing to send 'Amr bin 'Ās to Dhātus-Salāsil,

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[107] Reported by Ahmad, Tirmidhi, Nasa'i, and Ibn Mājah, as Ibn Kathir mentioned in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/96-97) and quoted the narration of Imam Ahmad. It is an authentic report that Albāni declared Good (*Hasan*) in *Sahih Tirmidhi* (3/108-109/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3504).

[108] *At-Tabaqāt* (1/317-321) in a long narration through a *Hasan* chain.

in Jumāda Ath-Thāniyah, of the eighth year after *Hijrah*.[109]

Tāriq bin 'Abdullah and His People's Delegation

Tāriq bin 'Abdullah Muhāribi went up to Madinah, after *Hijrah*, along with a group of people, in order to buy Madinan dates. They met the Prophet ﷺ outside the ramparts of the town without knowing who he was. He agreed to sell dates against a camel of theirs. They agreed. He took the camel and went into the city. Meanwhile, they began to regret that they had handed over their camel to someone whom they didn't know. A woman among them consoled them by saying that his face was not that of a liar. Subsequently of course, the Prophet ﷺ brought them the price. Later, when they entered into Madinah, they found him delivering a sermon on charity. It is then that they realized that he was a Prophet.[110]

Nevertheless, it appears that the above report is incomplete. I personally feel they had gone with the double purpose of embracing Islam as well as doing some business. They were apparently sitting among the Muslims while the Prophet ﷺ was delivering the lecture on charity. Tāriq bin 'Abdullah is himself the narrator of the report about the virtues of charity that he heard that day.[111]

Banu Muhārib, Tāriq's Tribe

This was another delegation sent to the Prophet ﷺ in the tenth year after *Hijrah*, i.e., the year of the Farewell pilgrimage. At that time the prime reason was to enter into allegiance to Islam. They were ten in number. One of them was Sawa' bin Hārith accompanied by his son Khuzaymah. All of them embraced

[109] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (1/277).

[110] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/380-381); Yunus bin Bukayr in *Ziyādā-tus-Sirah* as copied by Bayhaqi in *Dalā'il* (5/381). The verifiers of *Zād* (3/650) said: "The *Hadith* was also reported by Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/611-612) whose chain is Good (*Hasan*). However, Hākim himself termed it Sound (*Sahih*), and Dhahabi agreed with him."

[111] See: Nasa'i and others as in *Al-Isābah* (2/220).

Islam. They said, "We are in charge of those whom we have left behind." One of those accompanying them at that time was a man whom the Prophet ﷺ remembered. He had heard some harsh words from him at the time he was going around to various tribes during the pilgrimage season,[112] seeking their help, before *Hijrah*.

The Delegation sent by Farwah bin 'Amr Judhāmi, the Ruler of Mu'ān Lands

Farwah bin 'Amr Judhāmi, the local chief appointed by the Romans, chose Mas'ūd bin Sa'd to represent him. He came down to see the Prophet ﷺ. He had with him a horse, a white mule, and a donkey as gifts from Farwah. The Prophet ﷺ wrote back that he had seen his messenger, and had been informed of his Islam. He sent him some gifts. When the Roman emperor heard about it, he demanded that Farwah should return to his old religion. Farwah refused. So, he was arrested, crucified and finally beheaded.[113]

Tamim Dāri's Delegation

Tamim Dāri was a Christian. He went up to Madinah, embraced Islam and narrated his famous *Jassāsah*[114] and Dajjāl story. The Prophet ﷺ repeated his story from the pulpit[115] for his Companions. Ibn Sakan said, "He embraced Islam in the ninth year, he and his brother." Ibn Ishāq[116] said, "He went up to Madinah and fought along with the Prophet ﷺ (in some battles)."

[112] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/299) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[113] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) *Ibn Hishām* (4/315-316), *Ibn Sa'd* (1/281) via an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain, Ibn Mandah and Ibn Shāhin through a Weak (*Da'if*) chain, to whom Ibn Hajar attributed it in *Al-Isābah* (1/213).

[114] *Jassāsah* of the text is an animal that lives in islands. She seeks news and reports to Dajjāl.

[115] Being a narrative of *Muslim* (4/2261-2265/H. 2942) in both long and short forms, while others also reported it.

[116] Reported by Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (1/184) *Mu'allaq*.

The Banu Asad's Delegation

Ibn Sa'd[117] mentions that the Banu Asad came to the Prophet ﷺ at the beginning of the ninth year after *Hijrah*. They were ten in number. Dirār bin Azwar, Wābisah bin Ma'bad and Tulayhah bin Khuwaylid Asadi were among them. Their chief Hadrami bin 'Āmir said, "O Messenger of Allāh. We came to you facing the fear of attack by beasts, in a hot year, without you having to send anyone to us." In response Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿يَمُنُّونَ عَلَيْكَ أَنْ أَسْلَمُوا قُل لَّا تَمُنُّوا عَلَيَّ إِسْلَامَكُم بَلِ اللَّهُ يَمُنُّ عَلَيْكُمْ أَنْ هَدَاكُمْ لِلْإِيمَانِ إِن كُنتُمْ صَادِقِينَ﴾

"They regard it as a favor to you that they embraced Islam. Say, 'Don't treat it as favor unto me. Rather, Allāh favored you by guiding you to faith – if you are truthful.'"[118]

Bazzār[119] has reported that Ibn 'Abbās said, "Banu Asad went to the Prophet ﷺ and said, 'O Messenger of Allāh. We embraced Islam without you having to fight us, while you had to fight others of the Arabs.' The Prophet ﷺ remarked, 'Their understanding is poor, and Satan speaks on their tongue.' And then this Verse was revealed: '*They regard it as a favor...*'"[120]

Banu Qushayr bin Ka'b's Delegation

They arrived before the Farewell pilgrimage, after Hunayn, and became Muslims. Qurrah bin Hubayrah was one of them. The Prophet

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[117] *At-Tabaqāt* (1/292) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[118] *Surat Al-Hujurāt*: 17.

[119] This was mentioned by Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (7/369) through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

[120] Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (1/341), "'Umar bin Shabbah has recorded through a *Sahih* chain reaching Abu Wā'il that he said, 'The delegation of Banu Asad.' The Prophet ﷺ asked, 'Who are you?' They answered 'We are Banu Rityah, great riders.' He said, 'But rather you are Banu Rishdah.' They responded, 'We shall not give up the name of the forefathers.' And then follows the long story." I might add that this is another evidence proving the delegation of the Banu Asad, through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

ﷺ gave him a cloak and a few other things. He also made him in charge of *Zakāt* collection from his people. Another of the members of the delegation was Thawr bin 'Urwah. The Prophet ﷺ gave him a piece of land and wrote a document to that effect. Yet another of the members was Haydah bin Mu'āwiyah bin Qushayr.[121]

Bayhaqi[122] has a report coming down from Mu'āwiyah bin Haydah Qushayri. It speaks of his participation in the delegation which went to the Prophet ﷺ. It also speaks of his questions to the Prophet ﷺ about women, and about those parts of the body that must be covered.[123]

Ibn Sa'd[124] mentions in his report that Mu'āwiyah bin Haydah bin Mu'āwiyah Qushayri went to the Prophet ﷺ along with a delegation and embraced Islam. He stayed in Madinah for a while and asked the Prophet ﷺ a few questions. Later, he narrated a few *Ahadith*. Once his brother Mālik bin Haydah had requested him to accompany him to the Prophet ﷺ for a certain errand. Ibn Sa'd also reported that they became Muslims.

Banu Hārith bin Ka'b's Delegation

The Prophet ﷺ sent Khālid bin Walid either in Rabi'uth-Thāni or Jumāda Al-Ula, of the tenth year to Banu Hārith bin Ka'b in Najrān. He instructed him to offer them Islam for three days, before he attacked them. Khālid was successful in his efforts and they embraced Islam. He stayed with them teaching them Islam. The Prophet ﷺ wrote to him to return along with a delegation of theirs, and he did.

After their delegation had arrived and returned, the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr bin Hazm to teach them their new religion and collect their *Zakāt*. The Prophet ﷺ handed them a document to that effect.[125]

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[121] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/303) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain, which kind of course, is weak.

[122] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/378-389) through a Weak (*Da'if*) chain.

[123] This *Hadith* was reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (3/87). Sā'āti said, "The four (Tirmidhi, Abu Dāwud, Nasa'i, and Ibn Mājah) documented it." Tirmidhi said it is Good (*Hasan*) while Hākim said it is Sound (*Sahih*).

[124] *At-Tabaqāt* (7/35) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*).

[125] Ibn Ishāq reported their story in a lengthy form, but through a Suspended

Apart from Ibn Ishāq's report, based on his own chain of narrators, others such as, Mālik bin Anas,[126] Hākim,[127] Ibn Hibbān[128] and Bayhaqi,[129] have also recorded that the Prophet ﷺ wrote the said document. Ibn Kathir[130] wrote, "Nasa'i has also given us a detailed account in his *Sunan*, as also Abu Dāwud in his book *Marāsil*." Ibn Kathir wrote, "Abu Dāwud has also reported by another line viz.: 'Amr bin 'Awn Wāsti, he through 'Umārah bin Zādhān Saydalāni, he through Thābit Bunāni and he through Anas..."

Bayhaqi[131] said, "Sulaymān bin Dāwud narrated through Zuhri, he through Bakr bin Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Hazm, he through his father, he through his father. This report has further additions, such as details about *Zakāt*, blood money, etc. A few other details are missing. We have mentioned it in our book *Sunan*." [*Sunan Al-Kubra*, (4/89-90), declaring it as a Good (*Hasan*) report.]

Dhahabi[132] said, "Sulaymān bin Dāwud has narrated through Zuhri, he through Abu Bakr bin Muhammad bin 'Amr bin Hazm, he through his father, he through his father, the same report, with a lot of details about *Zakāt*, and without some details that our report has in the *Sunan*." The editor of the work said, "Bukhāri[133] also has it in brief in The Book of *Zakāt* (2/132) in a chapter entitled: "*A tenth from what is watered by Rainwater or Canals*."

Muhammad 'Awāmah[134] has discussed the chain of narration in quite some detail. He wrote, "As for its authenticity, the scholars have written long passages about it. Ibn Hazm is inclined in his *Al-Muhalla* to believe in its weakness (1/81). He also mentioned it in other places. So is Thawri in his *Al-Majmu'* (2/72). And so is 'Ala' (Mārdini in *Al-Jawharun-Naqi* (4/86-89); and, finally, Dhahabi in his *Al-Mizān'* (2/201).

"But a large number of scholars believe it is a trustworthy report; such as, Imam Mālik who reported it in his *Al-Mawatta'* but Disconnected (*Mursal*); Tahāwi (2/419) who relied on the report of Qays bin Sa'd; Hākim in his *Al-Mustadrak* (1/395); Ibn Hibbān, who reported it in his *Sahih*, see *Mawāriduz-Zamān*, p. 202; Bayhaqi in his *Sunan Al-Kubra* (4/90); and Ibn 'Arabi in his *Ahkāmul-Qur'ān* (4/1727).

"Of the contemporaries, those who accepted the report are, "Shaykh Shākir Ahmad Shākir in his notes on *Al-Muhalla* and *Ar-Risālah* of Shāfi'i, Shaykh Yusuf Binnuri in his commentary *Ma'ārifus-Sunan* on Tirmidhi saying (5/187), "The *Hadith* is Sound (*Sahih*), or, at least, Good (*Hasan*) on its own strength."

"Then there is another principle of the scholars that we need to consider, viz., acceptance of that which has been generally accepted. Ibn Hajar wrote in this connection in *At-Talkhisul-Habir* (4/18), 'The *Hadith* has been treated *Sahih* not on the strength of its chain of narrators, rather because it met with general approval.' Ibn Hajar was inclined to this opinion and it is well known that he accepted those reports that met with general approval. See his statements and evidences at the end of *Al-Ajwibatul-Fādilah*, as edited by Shaykh Abu Ghuddah.

"Then I happened to find Hāfiz reporting in *Fathul-Bāri* (5/247), through Sufyān Thawri that 'Umar bin Khattāb consulted the document of 'Amr bin Hazm and acted according to it. This shows how well the document was known among them, and that they trusted it. Allāh knows best."

The Hamdān's Delegation

In actual fact, the Hamdan sent two delegations. The first was before the first 'Aqabah pledge in Makkah. On that occasion, it was Qays bin 'Amr bin Mālik Hamdāni Arhabi who was their leader. He announced of his Islam and pledged his hand on behalf of his

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(*Mu'allaq*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/316-322), and Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/130-162) through Ibn Ishāq, stopping at his master 'Abdullah bin Abu Bakr without stating clearly that he heard from him.

[126] *Al-Mawatta'* (2/175-176/The Book of *'Uqul*/H. 1647).

[127] *Al-Mustadrak* (1/395-397). However, both Hākim and Dhahabi made no remarks over it.

[128] Ibn Hibbān in *Mawāriduz-Zamān*, pp. 202-203.

[129] *Sunan Al-Kubra* (4/89-90).

[130] *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/87-88).

[131] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/413).

[132] *Al-Maghāzi*, p. 694.

[133] *Al-Fath* (7/111-114/H. 1483).

[134] In verification of the *Musnad* of the Commander of the Faithful 'Umar bin 'Abdul-'Aziz in the footnotes, p. 179.

people. At that time the Prophet ﷺ asked him for help and sought to know whether he could migrate to his tribe. But, because they delayed answering him, they missed to be the people he could have migrated to. They also missed to win the honorable title *Ansār*–which Allāh had reserved for the people of Madinah.[135]

A second Hamdān delegation arrived at Madinah. It consisted of such men as: Mālik bin Namat and Abu Thawr, also known as Dhul-Mish'ār.[136] Their Islam became firm on the hand of 'Ali bin Abu Tālib ﷺ, as we shall presently learn.

The Arrival of Hakam bin Hazn Kulfi Tamimi

He was the seventh of the seven or ninth of the nine that went to the Prophet ﷺ. When they were allowed to enter upon the Prophet ﷺ, he said, "O Messenger of Allāh. We have come to you in order that you invite us to good." The Prophet ﷺ prayed for their goodness. They stayed in Madinah for a while, attending Friday prayers ﷺ, and seeing the Prophet deliver his sermon resting on a staff or on his bow. They heard him saying, "People. If you try to do all that I command you, you will not succeed. Therefore, try to be as close as possible and be of good cheer."[137]

The 'Abs Delegation

They were nine men, one of whom was Maysarah bin Masruq. Another was Hārith bin Rabi'.[138]

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[135] Their story was reported by Ibn Ishāq, through a chain that has unknown narrators–*Ibn Hishām* (4/323-327), and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/341) through an Interrupted (*Munqati'*) chain.

[136] See the whole story in *Ibn Sa'd* (1/340-341) through Wāqidi. The chain has Kalbi, and both were abandoned. See also 'Ali Ridwān Astal's *Al-'Wufud fil-'Ahdil-Makki, wa Atharuhal-I'lāmi*, pp. 132-136.

[137] *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* by Bayhaqi (5/345), Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (1/658-659/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 1096), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (6/92-93). Sā'āti said, "Abu Dāwud documented it in his *Sunan* as also Abu Ya'la in his *Musnad*, Bayhaqi in *Sunan Al-Kubra*, through a Perfect (*Jaiyid*) chain that he declared Sound (*Sahih*), Ibn Khuzaymah, Ibn Sakan, and Ibn Hajar declared its chain Good (*Hasan*)." See also Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/212).

[138] See *Ibn Sa'd* for their story (1/295-296) through Kalbi and Wāqidi.

The Delegation of Banu Fazārah

They came in the ninth year after *Hijrah* when the Prophet ﷺ had returned from Tabuk. They were over ten people including men like Khārijah bin Hisn and Hurr bin Qays bin Hisn.

The Banu Murrah Delegation

They came to Madinah after the Prophet ﷺ had returned from Tabuk. They were 13 in number led by Hārith bin 'Awf.

Banu Tha'labah Delegation

They came when the Prophet ﷺ had returned from Ji'rānah, the eighth year after *Hijrah*. They were 14 men.

The Banu Kilāb Delegation

They came in the ninth year. They were 13 men. One of them was Labid bin Rabi'ah. Another was Jabbār bin Sulma. They informed the Prophet ﷺ of Dahhāk bin Sufyān's efforts towards their conversion to Islam.[139]

Banu 'Aqil bin Ka'b's Delegation

Rabi' bin Mu'āwiyah bin Khafājah and Mutarrif bin 'Abdullah were among the delegates. They became Muslims and pledged on behalf of their tribesmen behind them.

The Delegation of Ja'dah

It was Ruqād bin 'Amr who was sent to the Prophet ﷺ to represent them. The Prophet ﷺ alloted him a piece of land.

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[139] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/297-300) through Wāqidi.

The Banu Bakka' Delegation

Three men arrived from them in the ninth year: Mu'āwiyah bin Thawr, his son Bishr and Fujay' bin 'Abdullah. The Prophet ﷺ wrote a document for Fujay'.

The Kinānah's Delegation

It was Wāthilah bin Asqa' who had come down to the Prophet ﷺ representing his people. He was already a Muslim. The Prophet ﷺ was then preparing himself for Tabuk. So Wāthilah returned to his people. But they would not embrace Islam. His own father in fact swore that he would not speak to him any further. Nonetheless, his sister became a Muslim. She prepared for his second journey. But, by the time he arrived at Madinah, the Prophet ﷺ had left for Tabuk. So, he followed him and joined him there. The Prophet ﷺ sent him to Ukaydir along with Khālid bin Walid.

The Delegation of Banu 'Abd bin 'Adi

Hārith bin Uhbān was one of them, and they all became Muslims.[140]

Ashja' Delegation

They came during the battle of the Ditch. They were a hundred in number, led by Mas'ūd bin Rukhaylah. Some others say they came after the Prophet ﷺ was through with the Banu Qurayzah affair and that they were 700 in number. They all embraced Islam and the Prophet ﷺ personally bid them farewell.

[140] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/301-315) through a weak chain.

As for the story about the delegation of Banu 'Abd bin 'Adi, it was also documented by Madā'ini and Ibn 'Asākir through Ibn 'Abbās ﷻ and others, as stated by Shāmi in his *Sirat* (7/557).

The Bāhilah Delegation

The Bāhilah sent Mutarrif bin Kāhin Bāhilil to the Prophet ﷺ after the fall of Makkah. He embraced Islam and secured the Prophet's promise of peace for his people. The Prophet ﷺ wrote a document for him to the Bāhilah, in which he mentioned *Zakāt* details. Later, another person called Nahshal bin Mālik Wā'ili of Bāhilah came up. He too embraced Islam. The Prophet ﷺ wrote another document for him and his people explaining what Islam stood for.

Banu Sulaym Delegation

It was Qays bin Nusaybah who first went to see the Prophet ﷺ. He was invited to Islam and he readily embraced it. He went back to his people and brought back with him seven hundred men. Some say they were a thousand. One of them was Rāshid bin 'Abd Rabbihi. They met him at Qudayd while he was on his way to Makkah to subdue it. They all embraced Islam and were with him during the Makkan invasion as well as in the fights at Hunayn and Tā'if. The Prophet ﷺ allotted (a place) called Ruhāta to Rāshid bin 'Abd Rabbihi. It had a spring known as the Prophet's Spring. Rāshid had been the custodian of Banu Sulaym's idol. Once he had found two foxes urinating on it, and said some poetry at their helplessness.

The Delegation of Banu Hilāl bin 'Āmir

'Abd 'Awf bin Asram was among them. The Prophet ﷺ renamed him 'Abdullah.[141]

Bakr bin Wā'il's Delegation

When they came to the Prophet ﷺ they inquired about Qus bin Sā'idah. He told them that he was not of their tribe, rather, of Iyād. He had abandoned his old religion in pre-Islamic times. He had

[141] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/316-359) through a Weak (*Da'if*) or very weak chain.

appeared in 'Ukāz at the time the people gathered there and spoke to them in words that have been preserved.

Of those that had gone to the Prophet ﷺ, were Bashir bin Khasāsiyyah, 'Abdullah bin Marthad and Hassān bin Hawt.[142]

The Taghlab Delegation

They were sixteen men, both Muslim as well as Christian. The Prophet ﷺ entered into an agreement with the Christians that they could remain on their religion but will not baptize their children. To the Muslims among them he offered several gifts.

A Female Delegate of the Banu 'Anbar

Qaylah the daughter of Makhramah of Tamim, but subsequently of the 'Anbar went to see the Prophet ﷺ in his early days at Madinah. She went in the company of Hārith, or Hurayth, bin Hassān the Shaybāni, who himself was representing Banu Bakr bin Wā'il. She became a Muslim and the Prophet ﷺ wrote a document for her. Her emigration journey in the company of Hārith bin Hassān has been narrated in full when we dealt with Banu Bakr.

The Tajib Delegation

They were thirteen men who had come down in the ninth year. They had brought with them their *Zakāt*. The Prophet ﷺ felt pleased with them and gave them in return more than what they had brought.

The Khawlān Delegation

They were ten in number having come down in Sha'bān of the tenth year after *Hijrah*. They said they were Muslims and were

[142] Being a narrative of *Ibn Sa'd* (1/316-359) through a very weak chain. Nevertheless, the delegation of Azd of 'Oman is confirmed through sources other than Ibn Sa'd. For, Ahmad mentioned it using a Good (*Hasan*) chain as said Shāmi in *Subulul-Huda* (7/402).

responsible for the tribe that they had left behind. The Prophet ﷺ asked them about their idol 'Amm Anas. They said Allāh (ﷻ) had given them a better alternative through his Prophet. They promised to break it down when they returned, and, in fact, so they did.

Apart from the above, the following are a few other delegations that arrived at the Prophet ﷺ:

The Khawlān Delegation from Yemen. They came in Sha'bān of the tenth year after *Hijrah*.

- The Ju'fi delegation.
- Zubayd delegation.
- Sadif delegation.
- Khushayn delegation.
- Sa'd Hudhaym delegation.
- Baliyi delegation.
- 'Udhrah delegation.
- Salāmān delegation.
- Bahra' delegation.
- Juhaynah delegation.
- Kalb delegation.
- Jarm delegation.
- Ghassān delegation.
- Sa'd Al-'Ashirah delegation.
- 'Ans delegation.
- The delegation of the Rahawiyyun from Madhhij.
- Ghāmid delegation.
- Al-Nakha' delegation.
- Delegation of Azd of 'Oman.
- Khath'am delegation.
- Ghāfiq delegation.
- Bāriq delegation.

The delegation of Thumālah and Al-Huddān.

- Aslam delegation.
- Judhām delegation.
- Mahrah delegation.
- Jayshān delegation.[143]
- The delegation of Juma' of the Tihāmah mountains. These were a group of slaves belonging to the Kinānah, Muzaynah, Hakam, Qārah and other tribes. They took over Al-Marrah. The Prophet ﷺ wrote to them and offered them peace. He wrote: "Their slaves are free, and their new custodian is Muhammad. Whosoever is with them of the tribes will not be returned to the tribes."[144]
- Madhhij delegation.[145]
- The delegation of the Banu Nahda of the interior of Tihāmah.[146]
- Banu Numayr delegation.[147]
- Sibā' delegation.[148]

[143] Ibid

[144] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/278) through Wāqidi that is, through a weak chain.

[145] 'Umar bin Shabbah: *Tārikhul-Madinah Al-Munawarah* (2/552-559) being one of the Disconnected (*Mursal*) reports of Sha'bi.

[146] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/559) which has in the chain 'Amr bin Wāqid who was abandoned, and 'Urwah bin Ruwaym, who was trustworthy but disconnected his reports.

[147] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/592) through a weak chain, because it is Interrupted (*Munqati'*). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (3/233) that Bukhāri mentioned part of the *Hadith* of this delegation of Bani Numayr in his *Tārikh*. However, it is a weak report because of the weakness in Fudayl bin Sulaymān who was given to lots of errors. As for his master, Ibn Abu Hātim remained silent over him.

[148] *Ibn Sa'd* (1/359) being a report of Wāqidi. As regards the miracle of the animals talking happened several times is evidenced by Ibn Kathir's report in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/108) that Ahmad and Tirmidhi recorded about a wolf sitting back and speaking to a shepherd. It also told the shepherd that the Prophet ﷺ is in Madinah informing the people of the past nations. Tirmidhi said about it, "*Hasan-Gharib-Sahih* (Good, Sound & Unfamiliar)." Ibn Kathir added, "It happens to be according to the conditions set by the

- The delegation of the Jinn.[149] They had gone to the Prophet ﷺ when he was in Makkah.
- The Hawāzin delegation. They had gone to the Prophet ﷺ while he was in Ji'rānah, after his return from Tā'if.[150]
- Tha'labah delegation.[151]
- The delegation of Usayd bin Abu Unās. He went to the Prophet ﷺ a repentant after the Prophet ﷺ had declared his blood lawful.[152]
- Banu Suhaym delegation.[153]
- Banu Sadus delegation.[154]
- Abu Sufrah delegation.[155]
- The 'Anazah delegation. One of the members was Salamah bin Sa'd.[156] The Prophet ﷺ said about them, "...a tribe is being attacked, but will be helped."[157]

Sunan writers, although they did not document it."

[149] See their story in Ibn Kathir: *Tafsir* (7/272-287, *Surat Al-Ahqāf*: 29, "*And (remember) when We sent towards you a group of the jinn, (quietly) listening to the Qur'ān.*" Their delegation is proved through authentic reports in *Al-Bukhāri, Muslim, Ahmad* and others, e.g., *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (15/15/H. 3860) and *Muslim* (1/331-333/H. 449-450).

[150] This was mentioned before when discussing the sharing of the spoils of Hunayn.

[151] See Ibn Sa'd: *At-Tabaqāt* (1/298) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[152] See Ibn Athir: *Usdul-Ghābah* (1/89-90) for his biography and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (1/47). Ibn Hajar said, "His story is recorded by Ibn Shāhin through Madā'ini and he through his own several narrators reaching up to Ibn 'Abbās and others..."

[153] Being a narrative of Mirshāti on the authority of Abu 'Ubaydah ؓ as Shāmi mentioned in his *Sirat* (6/521).

[154] Being a narrative of Bazzār on the authority of 'Abdullah bin Aswad ؓ as quoted by Shāmi in his *Sirat* (6/522).

[155] Being a narrative of Ibn Mandah, Ibn 'Asākir and Daylami as quoted by Shāmi in his *Sirat* (7/537).

[156] The report of this delegation was mentioned by Salamah bin Sa'd in *Usdul-Ghābah* (2/336), and *Al-Isābah* (2/65).

[157] Reported by Abu Ya'la, Bazzār, Tabarāni, and Imam Ahmad, as mentioned by Shāmi in the *Sirat* (6/593).

- Delegations of Rabi'ah bin Rawa' 'Ansi.[158]
- Qays bin 'Āsim delegation.[159]

Lessons and Rules

1. The list of the delegations that arrived at Madinah offers definite proof of the quick spread of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula during the life of the Prophet ﷺ. Islam was able to unify the Peninsula into one entity under the banner of Islam with Madinah as the headquarters.

2. The torrent of delegations arriving at Madinah was proof of the help Allāh had promised His Messenger.

3. It is a part of good statesmanship, and a character of Islam to treat the representatives of the people with honor and respect. This is apparent from the Prophet's treatment of the delegates. It consisted in offering honorable receptions. A feastful departure was also accorded them and gifts were presented.

4. The legality of a pagan's entry into a mosque if it is expected that he can be won to Islam. We know that the Prophet ﷺ received the Thaqif delegation in the mosque and spent long hours with them explaining Islam to them. Obviously, if it is possible to allow entry to a pagan, then, all the more so to a Jew or Christian. In fact, the Prophet ﷺ had received the Najrān Jews in the mosque. Zarkashi[160] says, "You should

[158] Ibn Athir: *Usdul-Ghābah* (2/168), Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (1/508). Said Ibn Hajar: "Tabrani and others recorded it tracing it through 'Isa bin Muhammad bin 'Abdul-'Aziz, Ibn Abu Bakr bin Muhammad, his father, 'Abdul-'Aziz, his father." See also *Ibn Sa'd* (2/106).

[159] Being a narrative of Tabarāni through a good chain, coming through Qays bin 'Āsim, as mentioned by Shāmi in the *Sirat* (6/613). See his biography in *Usdul-Ghābah* (4/219-221), and *Al-Isābah* (3/52) and *Ibn Sa'd* (2/60).

[160] See *I'lāmus-Sājid fi Ahkāmil-Masājid*, pp. 319-321, in brief.

know that Rāfi'i and Nawawi have ruled that a non-believer might, after the Muslims' permission, enter the mosques on conditions that:

a) there should be no preceding agreement with the *Dhimmis* that he will not be allowed entry into the mosques,

b) the Muslim who allows him in has full authority, and

c) his entry should be for listening to the Qur'ān, or attending a lecture, or when his Islam is coveted; or, his entry is for the purposes of construction, repair, etc.

Events, Expeditions and Delegations after Tabuk

Abu Bakr's *Hajj*

The Prophet ﷺ appointed Abu Bakr ؓ as the Leader of the Faithful for the *Hajj* of the ninth year after *Hijrah*. He left for Makkah in Dhul-Hijjah[1] along with three hundred Companions. They were carrying 20 camels for sacrifice while Abu Bakr had five of his own.[2]

When they all had left Madinah, *Surat Al-Barā'ah* was revealed. So the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Ali ؓ with the first few Verses of the chapter to pronounce them to the people in assembly in Mina, on the day of sacrifice. The Prophet ﷺ remarked on that occasion, "None but one of my kinsfolk should make this pronouncement."[3]

When Abu Bakr saw 'Ali, he asked, "A leader, or a follower?" 'Ali replied, "Rather, a follower." Then they proceeded.[4] A group of companions, one of them Abu Hurayrah ؓ, helped 'Ali in the

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[1] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/204/H. 4363), and Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (16/204), *Muslim* (2/982/H. 1374), Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/253), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/168) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[2] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/168) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[3] Being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq, through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/256). See *Hadith* of Imam Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/212), Sā'āti mentioned that Tirmidhi reported the same *Hadith*.

[4] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/256).

announcement, reading the Verses aloud, and informing the people of the Prophet's message in words, "None but a believer will enter Paradise. Naked men will not be allowed to circumambulate the Ka'bah. And, if anyone has an agreement with the Prophet, then its period expires in four months time. After the expiry of the period, Allāh (ﷻ) and His Messenger are quit of the pagans. And, no pagan will be allowed to perform *Hajj* after this year."[5]

Imam Baghawi[6] has written the opinion of the scholars that 'Ali was sent in order to convey the beginning portion of *Surat Al-Bara'ah* to the people during *Hajj* and to let them know what the Prophet ﷺ intended. The Prophet ﷺ chose 'Ali for this purpose because the Arabs were used to the custom of either the chief himself, or one of his family members entering into agreements and oaths, or breaking them. Had not 'Ali been sent, they would have clamored and said, "We do not know of annulment of treaties by other than those we are used to."

Sending of Abu Musa Ash'ari and Mu'ādh bin Jabal to Yemen

The Prophet ﷺ sent Abu Musa Ash'ari ؓ and Mu'ādh bin Jabal ؓ to Yemen, both in different directions, with the advice: "Make it easy for them and not difficult. Give glad tidings and do not create aversion. And co-operate with each other."[7] He also told Mu'ādh: "You will be going to a people who are the People of the Book. When you reach them, invite them to the testimony that there

[5] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/204/H. 4363), *Muslim* (2/982/H. 1347). They restricted themselves to mentioning the prohibition of the pagans and naked from performing the pilgrimage. The complete version was reported by Ahmad: *Al-Fathul-Rabbāni* (21/211) through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain, and Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (4/116) who declared it *Sahih*. See Tabari's opinion regarding this period in his *Tafsir* (14/95-102), and the opinion of Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/44). This announcement announced the end of the pagan era in the Arabian Peninsula.

[6] *Tafsir* (3/49/the footnotes of *Tafsirul-Khāzin*). Sā'āti quoted this: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/212).

[7] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/179-181/H. 4341-4345) whose words are taken here, and *Muslim* (3/1587/H. 1733).

is no deity except Allāh and that Muhammad is His Messenger. If they obey you in that, then let them know that Allāh has declared obligatory on them five prayers for every day and night. If they obey you in that, tell them that Allāh has placed on them charity that will be taken from their rich and returned to their poor. If they agree to that, then, avoid taking the best of their wealth. And, avoid the prayer of the oppressed against you, for, there is no veil between it and Allāh."[8]

When Mu'ādh was leaving, the Prophet ﷺ went with him some distance to bid him farewell. Mu'ādh was riding while he walked besides his beast, admonishing him. He ended by saying, "O Mu'ādh. It is possible that you will not see me after this. Maybe you will pass by my mosque or my grave." Mu'ādh began to weep at the thought of parting with the Prophet ﷺ. He added, "Don't cry Mu'ādh. Crying has a time for it. Crying is from Satan." Then he turned towards Madinah and said, "Nearest to me are the god-fearing, whoever they might be, wherever they might be."[9] He also explained to him the *Zakāt* rates.[10]

The Prophet ﷺ is also reported to have said to Mu'ādh while dispatching him to Yemen, "How will you decide when a dispute is presented to you?" He answered, "By the Book of Allāh." He asked, "If you didn't find it in the Book of Allāh?" He said, "Then I shall rule by the *Sunnah* of His Messenger." He asked, "And if you didn't find it in the *Sunnah* of the Messenger of Allāh?" He answered, "I

[8] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/1183/H. 4347), Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/113), "The rest of the four collectors recorded it through a variety of routes."

[9] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/215). Sā'āti said, "Its chain is Perfect (*Jaiyid*) and the narrators reliable." See reports about the sending of Mu'ādh and Abu Musa to Yemen in Bayhaqi's *Dalā'il* (5/401-408).

[10] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/115) and *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (8/219-220). Sā'āti said about the chain, "Traced by the four *Sunan* compilers, Ibn Hibbān, Darāqutni, Hākim who declared it Sound (*Sahih*), as did Ibn Hibbān.."

See also Abu Dāwud's *Sunan* (2/234-235/*Zakāt*/H. 1576) being a report of Abu Mu'āwiyah and Nasa'i's *Sunan* (5/3-4/The Book of *Zakāt*) it being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq through A'mash. The four collectors recorded it through Mu'ādh, e.g., see *At-Tirmidhi* (H. 623) who said the *Hadith* is Good (*Hasan*).

shall work it out myself, sparing no effort." The Prophet ﷺ patted him on his chest and said, "Allāh be praised for guiding the messenger of the Messenger of Allāh to what the Messenger of Allāh approves."[11]

Sending of 'Ali bin Abu Tālib and Khālid bin Walid to Yemen

The Prophet ﷺ first sent Khālid bin Walid ﷺ to Yemen, and then, sent 'Ali ﷺ in his place. One of the tasks 'Ali was to perform was to receive the one-fifth of the state share. When 'Ali came to know of the Prophet's choice, he said, "O Messenger of Allāh. You are sending me while I am younger than any of them to judge their affairs." The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Go. Allāh will firm up your tongue and guide your heart."[12] After that he admonished him in words, "When one of them presents his case, make no decision until the other party has also spoken. It is then that you will be able to judge correctly." 'Ali used to say, "Thereafter I knew how to judge."[13]

The Prophet ﷺ also told 'Ali, "Seek the consent of Khālid's men. If one of them wishes to stay back with you,[14] let him; if he doesn't, let

[11] Of those who reported it are Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (18-19/The Book of *Aqdiyyah*/H. 3592); Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (5/8/The Book of *Ahkām*/H. 1327) being a narrative of Shu'bah. Tirmidhi commented, "We do not know of this narrative except through this route and, I do not have any report whose chain is complete." And Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/117): "Ibn Mājah has reported it in a different way. But it is through Muhammad bin Sa'd bin Hassān, who was hanged, one of the liars." Da'ās, redactor of *Sunan Tirmidhi* said, "It is stated in *Al-'Āridah* (6/72) that the critics differed over this *Hadith*. Some said it is not Sound (*Sahih*). But others said it is in fact *Sahih*. The truth is, it is *Sahih* for it is a well-known report coming from Shu'bah bin Hajjāj, from whom a lot of scholars narrated such as Yahya bin Sa'eed, Ibn Mubārak, Tayālisi, Hārith bin 'Amr, Hadhali. In fact, if it is not known through anyone but Shu'bah, it is enough for acceptance."

[12] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (14/11-12/The Book of *Aqdiyyah*/H. 3582); Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (2/73/H. 666/Shākir). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*. Also see (2/53/H. 636/Shākir) but its chain is Interrupted (*Munqati'*). He said at the end, "Thereafter I was never in any doubt when judging between two people."

[13] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (2/83/H. 690/Shākir). Shākir said its chain is *Sahih*.

[14] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/184-185/H. 4349).

him return." 'Ali and his companions stayed in Yemen from where he returned to Makkah for *Hajj* and joined the Prophet ﷺ there.[15]

'Ali ﷺ left some good examples of how to perform the duties of a judge. Once when his companions sought his permission to ride on the camels obtained as *Zakāt*, for reasons that their own beasts had weakened, 'Ali refused the permission saying, "You have the right to them, but only as much as any other Muslim." When 'Ali had left for *Hajj*, those people went up to his assistant seeking the same concession. He allowed them. When 'Ali came back, he felt that the camels had been used for ride. He reproached his assistant. Some of his companions felt that 'Ali was harsh. One of them, Abu Sa'eed Khudri, complained to the Prophet ﷺ. But the Prophet ﷺ sided with 'Ali. Abu Sa'eed Khudri regretted that he had taken the case to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "After this, never will I speak or think of 'Ali in bad terms."[16] When some others complained of 'Ali's harsh measures, the Prophet ﷺ remarked, "People. Do not complain against 'Ali. Surely, he is harsher in Allāh's affairs, (or said, in the way of Allāh), that you should complain against him."[17] Then he added, "To whosoever I am dear, may treat 'Ali as dear."[18] According to another report, "Whosoever treats me as dear may treat 'Ali as dear. O Allāh, whoever treats him dear, You also treat him dear, and whoever treats him with enmity, You also treat him with enmity."[19]

[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/190/H. 4353-4354), *Muslim* (2/888/H. 1218).

[16] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/398-399) at length, Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/86), shortened. Ibn Kathir mentioned its Bayhaqi version in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/120) and remarked, "This is a Perfect (*Jaiyid*) chain which meets the conditions set by Nasa'i although none of the six documented it."

[17] Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain – *Ibn Hishām* (4/333).

[18] Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/234) who attributed it to Ahmad and added, "Nasa'i also recorded it...via the same chain. And this happens to be a *Jaiyid-Qawi* (Perfect & Strong) chain whose narrators are all trustworthy."

[19] Mentioned by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/235) through different chains. He said in one of them, "Nasa'i is alone in recording through this chain. Our master Abu 'Abdullah Dhahabi said, 'This is a *Sahih Hadith*." At another place (5/238) he said that it is one of the narratives of Ahmad and then commented: "The chain is a *Jaiyid* one and the narrators trustworthy meeting the conditions set by the writers of the *Sunan*." See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/234-240) who discusses the different narrations.

This happened when 'Ali forced them to return some of the gold that his assistant had divided among them. So they complained to the Prophet ﷺ. In response, he delivered a sermon on the eighteenth of Dhul-Hijjah at a place called Ghadir Khum, on his return journey from *Hajj*.

Of course, 'Ali succeeded where Khālid had failed. The latter stayed in Yemen some six months, inviting the people to Islam but received no response. But when 'Ali arrived and invited the Hamdān tribe to Islam, they immediately responded. 'Ali wrote to the Prophet ﷺ about their conversion. The Prophet ﷺ fell into prostration when he read the letter and said, "Peace be upon Hamdān, peace be upon Hamdan."[20]

Jarir bin 'Abdullah's Expedition to Dhul-Khalasah

Khatham and Bujaylah had a temple in the pre-Islamic times known as 'Dhul-Khalasah,' or the 'Ka'bah Yamāniyah,' or the 'Ka'bah Shāmiyyah.' When Jarir bin 'Abdullah Bajali went up to the Prophet ﷺ in Madinah along with a delegation from his tribe, the Prophet ﷺ told him, "Will you not relieve me of Dhul-Khalasah?" (In response) Jarir complained that he found it hard to saddle himself upon a horse. The Prophet ﷺ struck him on his breast and said, "O Allāh. Accord him firmness and make a righteous guide out of him." Jarir left with a hundred and fifty riders to the temple, broke it and killed its custodians. Jarir sent Abu Artāt Husayn bin Rabi'ah the Ahmasi with the news to the Prophet. The Prophet ﷺ prayed for them in general terms, but for the Ahmas, brothers of Bajilah, Jarir's own group, in special terms.[21]

[20] Reported by Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/396-397) who said: "Reported by Bukhāri in a shorter form through another chain coming through Ibrāhim bin Yusuf." The original *Hadith* is in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/184/H. 4349). The redactor of *Zād* said (3/623): "The prostration of gratitude in the complete version is authentic meeting his conditions."

[21] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/190-193/H. 4355-4357), *Muslim* (4/1925/H. 2476). It was called Yamāniyah because Dhul-Khalasah was in Yemen and Shāmiyyah because they opened its way facing Shām. See *Ibn Hajar:* (16/190-191).

Notes

1. This passage tells as that what can mislead the people ought to be destroyed.

2. It is desirable of the righteous Muslims to pray for those who cannot find firmness on the back of a horse, or cannot use some of the war equipment, such as rockets and other modern war equipment.

3. The incident tells us about the virtue in riding horses and by extension, the driving of tanks or piloting fighter planes and other modern war equipment.

4. The desirability to appoint a man as leader from among the tribe itself, in order to attract them to Islam. The Prophet ﷺ did this so often. So also, they might be softened through prayers for them, and expression of good hopes of victory at their hands.[22]

The Farewell Pilgrimage

Scholars have stated that Allāh (ﷻ) declared *Hajj* obligatory either in the ninth or tenth year before *Hijrah*. Some have said that it was declared obligatory in the sixth year before *Hijrah*. But that does not sound right.[23] Ibn Qaiyim[24] substantiates in a convincing manner that it was made obligatory in the tenth year after *Hijrah*. Taking its importance into consideration, it seems reasonable to think that it was made obligatory late in the Prophet's mission. Allāh (ﷻ) said,

﴿وَلِلَّهِ عَلَى ٱلنَّاسِ حِجُّ ٱلْبَيْتِ مَنِ ٱسْتَطَاعَ إِلَيْهِ سَبِيلًا﴾

"And for Allāh is upon the people pilgrimage to the House, unto whoever can afford the journey."[25]

This Verse came down during the Year of Delegations, that is, at

[22] See Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/194).

[23] Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/123).

[24] *Zādul-Mā'ad* (3/595).

[25] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 97.

the end of the ninth year.

The Prophet performed no *Hajj* except one, which he did in the tenth year after *Hijrah.* This *Hajj* is also known by several names such as the *'Hajj* of the Message', the *'Hajj* of Islam', or the 'Farewell *Hajj*', for the Prophet ﷺ said farewell to the people in this *Hajj,* not offering another after it. It was called as *'Hajj* of the Message' because the Prophet ﷺ delivered messages concerning *Hajj* rituals during this *Hajj* both in words as well as through practical demonstration. In fact nothing was left of the important message of Islam that he did not clarify then. When he had done that Allāh (ﷻ) revealed,

﴿ٱلْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتْمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِى وَرَضِيتُ لَكُمُ ٱلْإِسْلَٰمَ دِينًا﴾

"Today I have completed for you your religion and completed My favors unto you and am satisfied with Islam as your religion."[26, 27]

When the people came to know of the Prophet's intention to perform *Hajj* in the tenth year, they began to pour into Madinah wishing to perform *Hajj* exactly as he would do.[28]

He left on the 15th of Dhul-Qa'dah.[29] During the journey, up and down, many things happened that can be found in books of law dealing with rituals.[30] Scholars have devoted whole books to this topic, giving every detail pertaining to *Hajj* and quoting his admonitions to his followers.[31] One of them is the famous sermon

[26] *Surat Al-Māi'dah*: 3.

[27] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/235/H. 4407), and see Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah* (5/123).

[28] *Muslim* (2/1887/H. 1218).

[29] See Ibn Ishāq, through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/330). Ibn Kathir declared it sound in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/125).

[30] See as an example Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/223-233).

[31] Of the ancients: Ibn Hazm, and of the contemporary *Hadith* scholars: Shaykh Albāni, Shaykh Muhammad Zakariyyah Kāndhlawi. Dr. Fāruq Hamādah has, under the title: *Al-Wasiyyatun-Nabawiyyah lil-Ummatil-Islāmiyyah,* collected together from various sources some thirty-eight entries and then took to verifying, checking and tracing the texts by the principles set for *Hadith* criticism that the *Hadith* scholars have agreed upon. For the question pertaining is part of the religion.

delivered during the *Tashriq* days (eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth of the month Dhul-Hijjah). Some of the things he said are as follows: "Your lives and property are sanctimonious unto you, like the sanctity of this day, in this month, in this town. Lo! Every practice of the pre-Islamic times is under my feet. All pre-Islamic bloodshed is to be left unavenged. The first claim on blood I abolish is that of Ibn Rabi'ah bin Hārith. (He was fostered among the Banu Layth, and whom Hudhayl had killed). I also abolish usury of the pagan times. And the first usury that I abolish is that of 'Abbās bin 'Abdul-Muttalib, all of it. And fear Allāh concerning women. You have taken them as a trust from Allāh, and you enjoy their persons by the Words of Allāh. It is your right that they should not let anyone into the house that you disapprove of. If they do that, beat them up, but lightly. And upon you is their food and clothing in a goodly manner. I am leaving behind me for you something that if you held fast, you will never be led astray: Allāh's Book. And, you will be asked about me. What will you say?" They said, "We shall bear witness that you conveyed to us Allāh's messages, admonished us, sincerely did good to your followers and passed on what was on you." He said, "O Allāh, bear witness," three times.[32]

On another occasion he said, "Woe unto you. Do not return to disbelief after me slaughtering each other."[33] He also said, "Satan has lost hopes that he be worshiped in this land. But he will be satisfied with anything less, apart from that. Beware then, O people. I am leaving between you that which if you held fast unto, you will never lose the way: Allāh's Book and the ways of His Messenger. Every Muslim is a brother unto another Muslim. Muslims are brothers unto each other. Nothing of a brother's property or wealth is lawful unto another except for what he would give willingly..."[34]

[32] *Muslim* (2/889-890/H. 1218) from a lengthy and popular report of Jābir in connection with the Farewell pilgrimage.

[33] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/133/H. 4403), *Muslim* (1/82/H. 65-66), see rules of *Hajj* in *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/The Book of *Maghāzi*). Also *Muslim* (2/834/1017/The Book of *Hajj*. Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (12/210-212), Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/333-337), Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/432-452), Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (2/101-311) in addition to other books of ancient as well as modern times that we have indicated.

[34] Being a narration of Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (5/449), Hākim in *Al-*

Lessons, Rules and Precedence from the Farewell Pilgrimage

1. The Prophet ﷺ wished to teach the people the fifth pillar of Islam after he declared the practices of the pre-Islamic times invalid, such as, with reference to *Hajj*: clapping, whistling and circumambulation in the state of nakedness.

2. He also wished to meet the Muslims of all parts of Arabia. They poured into Makkah. He used the opportunity to offer them the gist of Islam in brief statements and pass on to them the duty of preaching to those who had not yet received the message, all over the world, for all times until the earth is left bereft of life. He also wished to demonstrate to the people how they were to perform this important ritual. Accordingly, his sermons consisted of the rules pertaining to *Hajj* as well as the primary teachings of Islam.

The most important report that deals with *Hajj* issues is that of Jābir ؓ that Muslim recorded in his work. Nawawi[35] said about it, "This is a *Hadith* of great importance that deals with some very important issues. Muslim is singular in reporting it, in the sense that Bukhāri did not record it in his *Sahih*. However Abu Dāwud recorded it, in the words of Muslim. Qādi 'Iyād said that many scholars have offered explanations to it in detail. Abu Bakr Ibn Mundhir in fact wrote a large volume over it working out some 150 rules of law..."

Albāni has abridged the rules to seventy-two in reference to the Farewell pilgrimage. This book is very simple and we would have liked to present a summary here, but for the reason that we might lose some of the important parts of an already summarized work. The Shaykh made it more useful by adding in the appendix some of the innovations that are practiced by the common people during *Hajj* and during the visit to the Prophet's grave in Madinah or while visiting the Baytul-Maqdis.[36] He wrote about 175 innovatory practices.

Another book of importance is that of Ibn Qaiyim entitled *Zādul-Ma'ād*.[37] Its usefulness has been enhanced by the notes added by Shu'ayb Arna'ut and 'Abdul-Qādir Arna'ut.

The important and primary rules that the Prophet ﷺ prescribed and admonished his followers, could be summarized as follows:

i) The announcement pertaining to the rights of the Muslims, and that their blood, wealth and honor are inviolable.

ii) Announcement banning oppression and usury and every harmful pre-Islamic practice.[38]

iii) Announcement concerning women's rights, the commandment that their rights be recognized and given them. He also spoke of the rights of the husband over his wife.[39]

iv) Forbiddance of a will in favor of an inheritor, and reconfirmation of the law of inheritance as in the Qur'ān.[40]

v) The announcement of the illegality of adoption, or relating oneself to those one is not related, out of dislike of one's real kin.

vi) The announcement that the child belonged to the bed, that

Mustadrak (1/93) being a report of Ibn 'Abbās ؓ. Tirmidhi reported part of it in *Sunan* (3/54/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3295): Abridgement of Albāni who declared it authentic being there a transmission of 'Amr bin Ahwas. Albāni commented: "It is *Hasan*" and attributed it to Ibn Mājah also (1851), Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/280). Sā'āti said about its route: Ibn Kathir brought it in his *Tārikh*, recording in full attributing it to Imam Ahmad." Then he added, "Abu Dāwud reported parts of it, as bits and pieces of which were recorded by the leading *Hadith* scholars in various parts of their works, through authentic chains. Allāh knows best." The *Hādith* is also reported by Bazzār: *Kashful-Astār*, no. 1524.

35 *Muslim*/with Nawawi's explanation (8/170).

36 *Hajjatun-Nabi* ﷺ as narrated by Jābir ؓ, pp. 94-100, 105-149

37 *Ibn Qaiyim* (2/101-324) quoting from the long narrative of Jābir ؓ on the Farewell pilgrimage.

38 *Sahih Muslim* (2/889-890/H. 1218) from the lengthy and popular *Hadith* of Jābir in the Farewell pilgrimage.

39 Ibid, *Abu Dāwud* (3/824/The Book of *Buyu'*/H. 3565), *At-Tirmidhi* (3/54/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3295), which Albāni declared in his *Ikhtisār* as *Hasan*, *Ibn Mājah* (2/The Book of *Tijārat*/H. 2295), 'Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (9/48/H. 16308), and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/265).

40 'Abdur-Razzāq: *Al-Musannaf* (9/48/H. 16308), Ahmad *Al-Musnad* (5/248),

the adulterous man has no share in him, rather, he is to be stoned to death if he admits his crime.[41]

vii) He informed the people that a *Muslim* was one from whose tongue and hands other Muslims felt secure, that a *Believer* was someone who gave peace to the people with regard to their wealth and lives; that a *Muhājir* in truth was one who gave up his sins and errors, that a *Mujāhid* was one who fought against his own self in obedience of Allāh.[42] The Prophet ﷺ also admonished that whoever was entrusted with something, was bound to keep his trust.[43]

viii) He warned of lies fastened on him saying, "Whoever lied on me may seek his abode in the Fire."[44]

ix) He admonished the Muslims to hold fast unto the Book and his *Sunnah*. He said, "I am leaving behind me two things, after which you will never be led to error – if you held fast unto them: Allāh's Book and the *Sunnah* of His Prophet."[45]

x) He also reminded that the believers were brothers unto each other and that nothing of a brother was lawful unto a Muslim without his leave.[46]

xi) He ordered that they listen and obey those in charge of their affairs whatever their origin, color or social status, so long as they establish Allāh's Word.[47]

xii) He reaffirmed that superiority between people was on the basis of piety and not by another criteria.[48]

Abu Dāwud (3/824/The Book of *Buyu'*/H. 3565).

[41] Ibid. See also *Abu Dāwud* (5/339/The Book of *Adab*/H. 5115), *Ibn Mājah* (no. 2712).

[42] Reported by Ibn Hibbān: *Mawāriduz-Zamān* (no. 25) through trustworthy transmitters.

[43] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/73), Bazzār: *Al-Musnad*: *Kashful-Astār* (2/34) in which falls Musa bin 'Ubayd who was weak.

[44] *Ibn Mājah* (no. 3057). It is stated in *Al-Zawā'id* that its chain is Sound (*Sahīh*), and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/412).

[45] *Muslim* (2/890/H. 1218).

[46] *At-Tirmidhi* (3/54/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 3295), Albāni said it is *Hasan* in his version of Tirmidhi, being a narration of 'Amr bin Ahwas. See also *Al-Hākim* (1/93) and Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/423).

[47] *Muslim* (2/944/H. 1298).

[48] See Haythami: *Majma'uz-Zawā'id* (3/372) where he said: "Reported by

xiii) He admonished them to treat the slaves well.[49]

xiv) He also reminded that a Muslim's heart could never be without three things: sincerity in whatever he did, for the sake of Allāh alone, his true goodwill for those made in charge of the affairs, and his constant endeavor to remain with the majority of Muslims.[50]

Usāmah bin Zayd's Expedition to Shām

The Prophet ﷺ returned from the Farewell pilgrimage by the end of Dhul-Hijjah. At the end of the next month, Safar, he raised an army for an expedition against the Romans in the Balqa' and Palestine area. It consisted of some important *Muhājir* and *Ansār*.[51] Usāmah bin Zayd ؓ was appointed the commander in chief. Some people objected to it. He stood up and said, "If you object to his leadership, then (it is no surprise, for) you had objected to the leadership of his father, although, by Allāh, he is well-qualified to be a leader and to me he is the most beloved of the people after his father."[52]

Tabarāni through (his) chain, but it is weak. But it is preceded by the Sound (*Sahih*) report about the sermon on the day of *'Arafah*." See *Jam'ul-Fawā'id* (1/510) and the notes therewith. As for the *Hadith*, "Your father is one, your religion is one, your father was Adam and Adam was from the dust," is in *Al-Bazzār* whose narrators are trustworthy as stated in *Kashful-Astār* (2/435).

[49] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/35). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isābah* (3/653): "Baghawi and Ibn Shāhin documented it as well as Ibn Sakan, Ibn Mandah, Azdi and others. Its chain is *Sahih*."

[50] Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (4/80, 82); Dārimi: *Sunan* (no. 231, 233, 234); Ibn Mājah: *Sunan* (no. 3056); Tabarāni in *Al-Kabir* (2/130,131); and *Al-Hākim* (1/87) who said, "according to the conditions laid by the two." Also Mundhiri in *Targhib wa Tarhib* (1/109), who declared it *Hasan*.

This text has come through many Companions, up to thirty according to Suyuti; hence counted as Continuous (*Mutawatir*). See Kattāni: *Nazmul-Mutanāthir*, p. 23, as mentioned by Dr. Fāruq Hamādah: *Al-Wasiyyatun-Nabawiyyah*, p. 110.

[51] Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fat-h* (16/287/The Book of *Maghāzi*), *Al-Wāqidi* (3/1117-1118), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/248); Ibn Ishāq – *Ibn Hishām* (4/337).

[52] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/287/H. 4469).

The reason why some people objected to the choice was Usāmah's youth. He had just turned eighteen.[53]

As the preparations were underway, the Prophet ﷺ fell ill. The army, therefore, did not move for two days, having pitched its tents in Juruf. In fact, with the Prophet's death it returned to Madinah. It was Abu Bakr ؓ who ultimately sent it across, after he had become the successor. The army consisted of 3000 men.[54]

Lessons

We learn from above the excellent position that Usāmah bin Zayd and his father Zayd held in the eyes of the Prophet ﷺ. Neither his youth, nor the slavery of his father came in the way of the Prophet ﷺ appointing him a leader over an army comprising senior Companions. This is how Islam destroyed the norms of the pre-Islamic times according to which they classified the people.

[53] Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain but Disconnected (*Mursal*) – *Ibn Hishām* (4/396), *Al-Wāqidi* (3/1118). Suhayli mentioned that he being a *Mawla* (manumitted slave) was another reason. See also *Al-Rawdul-Unuf* (4/248). We did not however succeeded in locating the origin and so there is some error in tracing it.

[54] Ibn Ishaq through a *Hasan* chain, but *Mursal* – *Ibn Hishām* (4/396), and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/287-288) and *Wāqidi* (3/1120-1122). Wāqidi was alone in numbering the force.

Chapter 28

Sickness and Death

A few days before the month of Safar could end, or in the beginning of the Rabi'ul-Awwal, the Prophet ﷺ began to feel unwell. That was the eleventh year after *Hijrah*.[1]

One night he asked his freed slave Abu Muwayhibah to accompany him to the Baqi' graveyard. It was midnight. He wished to supplicate for the forgiveness of the dead buried there. When he stood there before the graves, he said, "Peace be upon you, O people of the graves. Let me congratulate you on what you escaped from, in which the people have fallen. Tribulations are descending down upon them like patches of a dark night: one following another, in which every new one that follows is harder than the preceding one." Then he turned to Abu Muwayhibah and said, "O Abu Muwayhibah, I have been given the keys of the treasures of this world and everlasting stay in it, and then, ultimately entry into Paradise. I chose between that and between a meeting with my Lord and Paradise." Abu Muwayhibah interjected, "By my parents. Choose the keys to the treasures of the world and then Paradise." He replied, "No, by Allāh. I have chosen to meet with my Lord and Paradise." Then he sought the people of the graves to be forgiven. Thereafter he returned[2] to 'Āishah's house. His pain continued to

[1] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*) – *Ibn Hishām* (4/385). See the disagreement between the biographers about the time the Prophet ﷺ started to complain, and the time of his death with Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/360-261).

[2] Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain – *Ibn Hishām* (4/385-386).

bother him while he visited the houses of his wives, until it became unbearable while he was in the house of Maymunah ﷺ.[3] He got his wives assembled and sought their permission to remain in the house of 'Āishah ﷺ[4] until he recovered from his sickness. He remained sick for ten days.[5] Then, on the twelfth of Rabi'ul-Awwal,[6] the day being Monday, he died, completing 63 years of his age.[7]

In his final days 'Āishah used to recite the last two chapters of the holy Qur'ān, and other supplicatory words that she had learned from him, then blow on him and wipe him by moving his hands around his body, in the hope of blessings.[8]

One day he registered high temperature. He asked them to pour on him seven large bowls of water so that, refreshed, he could go out to the people and seek their allegiance. They did it until he said, "Enough, enough." He felt himself light. He wrapped his head with a piece of cloth and went into the mosque. There he sat on the pulpit and addressed the people saying, "May Allāh curse the Jews and

[3] Ibn Ishāq through a Good (*Hasan*) chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/386-387). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/260): "According to Abu Ma'shar's *Sirat* of the Prophet ﷺ fell sick in the room of Zaynab bint Jahsh ﷺ, whereas in Sulaymān Taymi's *Sirat*, he fell sick in Rayhānah's quarters but the closest to being correct is that he fell sick in Maymunah's quarters."

[4] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/273-274/H. 4442, 4450), Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/387).

[5] Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/260): " Biographers differed over how long the Prophet ﷺ remained sick. Most believe that it was thirteen days, or maybe one day more or less. It has also been said that it was ten days. Sulaymān Taymi insisted on this in his *Maghāzi*. Bayhaqi reported this *Hadith* through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

[6] That is what the majority said according to Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fat-h* (16/ 261). Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath*: (16/260-261) depended on the opinion of Abu Mikhnaf that the Prophet ﷺ died on the twelfth of Rabi'ul-Awwal. I might point out that Abu Mikhnaf is Lut bin Yahya, who was weak and cannot be used in authoritative works.

[7] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/286/H. 4466). The *Hadith* was also reported by Ahmad in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (20/209-210) and (21/260) through a *Sahih* chain that he died after completing sixty-three years. See the discussion of Sā'āti for the narrations that said other than this.

[8] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/262, 287/H. 4429, 4451), and see the explanation of Ibn Hajar of the first version, *Muslim* (4/1721-1724/H. 2191-2192).

the Christians.[9] They took the graves of their Prophets and Messengers for worship."[10] According to another report, "May Allāh destroy the Jews and Christians.." He also said, "Do not convert my grave into an idol for worship." This admonition came from him five days before his death.[11]

Then he offered himself for retaliation saying, "If I have (wrongfully) got someone whipped, then, here is my back, let him retaliate now." After that he came down and offered the noon prayer. Thereafter he returned to the pulpit to continue with his offer of retaliation. One of those present said, "You owe me three dirhams." He said, "Pay him off, O Fadl." Another said that he had found three dirhams. He said, "Take them (into your care) O Fadl."[12]

Then he reminded the people to be good to the *Ansār*. He said, "I remind you of the (rights of) *Ansār*. They are my people and my Companions. They did what was expected of them, but what is expected to be done to them remains to be done. Therefore, treat them well and forgive their shortcomings." According to another report, "People will increase in numbers but the *Ansār* will decrease until they become like grains of salt in food. Let him then, who takes charge of the affairs, capable of doing anyone good or evil, accept their good side and ignore the faults."[13]

He said in his last sermon, "A slave was given the choice between this world and what is with Allāh. He chose what is with Allāh." The narrator says, "At that Abu Bakr wept. They were surprised at his crying. It was himself that the Prophet was speaking of, and Abu Bakr had realized it." The Prophet ﷺ said, "Do not cry Abu Bakr. If I were to take a *Khalil* apart from my Lord, I would take you as my *Khalil*. But, brotherhood of Islam and its bond of love is

[9] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/98-99/H. 425, 436, 437) and (6/244/H. 1330), *Muslim* (10/4756), and Mālik: *Al-Muwatta'*, p. 360.

[10] Mālik: *Al-Muwatta'*, p. 365.

[11] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (7/169-180), Ibn Kathir quoted it in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* remarking: "Its chain and text contain some unfamiliar elements."

[12] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/373/H. 3799 3801), *Muslim* (4/1949/H. 2510).

[13] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/133/H. 467), *Muslim* (4/1854/H. 2382).

enough. Let not any door be left opening into the mosque except that of Abu Bakr."[14]

When the time of death neared and his pain increased, he once again spoke to the Companions around him in his house, among whom 'Umar ﷺ was present. That was on Thursday, four days before his death. He said, "Let me write down a document so that you are not led into error after me." 'Umar remarked, "He is in pain and suffering. In any case, you have the Qur'ān. Allāh's Book is enough for you." Some others disagreed with him and said, "Bring the writing material for Allāh's Messenger to write for you." A few others were with 'Umar. When their disagreement persisted the Prophet ﷺ said, "Leave me alone."[15]

That day he also instructed that the Jews, Christians and pagans be expelled from the Arabian Peninsula. He also advised that the delegates be treated in the manner he was treating them. The narrator forgot the third advice. One of the final advice that he offered was: "(Take care of) prayers and what your right hands own (i.e., the slaves)." According to a report, "Allāh, Allāh. (Take care of) prayers and what your rights hands own."[16] He kept repeating these words until he had strength.[17]

Three days before his death he addressed the people once again saying, "Be of good hope with Allāh."[18] After that his illness began to weigh on him heavily preventing him from coming out for prayers. He said, "Ask Abu Bakr to lead in the prayers." 'Āishah ﷺ said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Abu Bakr is a softhearted man. If he takes the position you took, people will hardly hear him. So, let

[14] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/67/H. 4431-4432), *Muslim* (3/1257-1259/H. 1637)

[15] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/266/H. 4431).

[16] Reported by Tamimi taking it up to Anas ﷺ as mentioned by Dhahabi in the *Sirat*, p. 557.

[17] Reported by Dhahabi in the *Sirat*, p. 557, and he said this is more authentic (i.e., than Tamimi's version). This *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Mājah. See Albāni: *Sahih Ibn Mājah* (1/271/The Book of *Janā'iz*/H. 1625). Haythami said in *Al-Majma'* (4/237) that the *Hadith* is Sound (*Sahih*), but it has in its chain 'Abdullah bin Walid Wassāfi who was abandoned.

[18] Reported by Dhahabi in the *Sirat*, p. 557, and he said that the *Hadith* is *Sahih*.

'Umar lead." He repeated, "Ask Abu Bakr to lead in the prayers." 'Āishah said to Hafsah ﷺ, "Tell him that Abu Bakr is a softhearted man and that ..." He interjected, "You are like the companions of Yusuf. Ask Abu Bakr to lead in the prayers." On one occasion Abu Bakr ﷺ was not available. 'Abdullah bin Zam'ah invited 'Umar ﷺ to lead in prayers. When the Prophet ﷺ heard 'Umar's voice he said, "Allāh and the believers disapprove." He said that twice. So, Abu Bakr was sent for. He came and led in the prayer.[19]

Abu Bakr continued to lead in the prayers in the Prophet's mosque. On one occasion, the Prophet ﷺ felt better and went out to join the congregation. It was noon prayer. Abu Bakr was leading in the prayer. When he saw him, he tried to get back but he signaled him to stay put and sat down by his side. Abu Bakr began to follow the Prophet ﷺ in his prayer, and the people followed Abu Bakr.[20]

One day before his death he freed all his slaves[21] and gave away in charity a few dinars that he possessed: some seven or nine.[22] He said, "We (Prophets) are not inherited by anyone. Whatever we leave behind goes to charity."[23] According to one narration, "My inheritors should not divide among themselves even a dinar that I leave.[24] Whatever is left after the maintenance of my wives and my servant's wages is for charity." But he left behind him neither a dinar, nor dirham, nor a slave. The sole exception was a white mule that he used to ride. He also left

[19] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/226-227) tracing it through Ibn Isḥāq. Sā'āti said, "The report is *Sahih* whose transmitters are reliable. The *Hadith* was also reported by Hākim who declared it *Sahih* with the consent of Dhahabi." See also Abu Dāwud in *Sunan* (5/47-48), via Ibn Isḥāq through a chain that is Good (*Hasan*), and Yunus bin Bukayr as report of Ibn Isḥāq through a *Hasan* chain as quoted by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/261).

[20] *Al-Bukhārī* (1/175/The Book of *Salāt*/H. 68) whose words have been taken here, and *Muslim* (1/313-314/H. 418).

[21] See *Ibn Sa'd* (2/316-317) through different routes some of which strengthen others. It is supported by a report in *Al-Bukhārī* that the Prophet ﷺ did not leave behind either a male or female slave.

[22] See *Ibn Sa'd* (2/237-238) through different lines of narration that strengthen each other.

[23] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (25/127-130/H. 6726-6728, 6730).

[24] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (25/129/H. 6729).

behind some weapons and a plot of land that he declared to be given away in the way of Allāh.[25]

By night 'Āishah ﷺ borrowed some oil for the lamp from a neighbor.[26] His coat of mail had been earlier mortgaged with a Jew against thirty measures of barley.[27] Probably it was about the left-over of this thirty measures of barley that 'Āishah said later, "The Prophet died having left nothing that a person could eat except for some barley in the rack. I kept using it for my sustenance for a long while until it was all gone."[28] Other reports do not say anything about what was left of those thirty measures in the house of his other wives.

As for what he left of the mule, the spear, the cloak, the weapons, and the bed: they were things that his successors inherited and used to adorn themselves with and sought blessing from. They remained in the hands of his successors, generation after generation.[29]

The day he died he gave a pleasant surprise to the Muslims by removing the door curtain of 'Āishah's house. He looked at them as they were offering their *Fajr* prayer and smiled. Abu Bakr ﷺ tried to fall back into the rows thinking that the Prophet ﷺ wished to join in and lead the prayer. The people too almost fell into commotion out of joy at the prospect of the Prophet ﷺ coming in. He signaled to

[25] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/283/H. 4461). In this *Hadith* there is proof that whoever mentioned of slaves belonging to the Prophet ﷺ either died or was manumitted before his death. The report also supports those who say that a slave girl who gives birth to a child is free with the death of her husband-master. It takes as example Mariyah who lived after the Prophet ﷺ. As for those who said she died before his death, they have no evidence for it. See Ibn Hajar in *Al-Fath* (11/95). I might add that the evidence is in the remark of the Prophet ﷺ who said when she gave birth to Ibrahim, "Her son freed her." Bayhaqi recorded this in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (10/346) and is strengthened by the reports brought by Mārdini in his *Al-Jawharun-Naqi* as addenda to *Sunan Al-Kubra*.

[26] This was said by Ibn Rajab Hanbali in *Majālis min Siratin-Nabi* verified by Yāsin Sawwās and Mahmud Arna'ut, p. 104.

[27] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/286/H. 4467) and (10/130/ H. 2509).

[28] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (24/63 64/H. 4451), and *Muslim* (4/2283/H. 2973).

[29] Hammād bin Ishāq bin Ismā'il: *Tarikatun-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 113, as verified by Dr. Akram 'Umari, p. 113.

them with his hand to continue their prayers. Then he withdrew to his room and dropped the curtain down.[30]

When the sun was up he asked his daughter Fātimah ﷺ to be brought in. He whispered something to her. She started crying. Then he whispered into her ear again and she smiled. When asked later, she said, "He told me that he would die in the illness that had taken hold of him. So I cried. Then he told me that I would be the first of his kin to join him, so I smiled."[31] According to another version, the reason why she smiled was that he told her, "O Fātimah. Are you not satisfied that you should be the chief of women-believers in Paradise?" Or maybe he said, "The chief of the women believers of this *Ummah*..."[32]

Of course, the above is an evidence of the Prophet's authenticity. Of his kinsfolk, Fātimah was the first to die after him.

Seeing how her father suffered, Fātimah cried out, "O my father's pain." He remarked, "Your father will not suffer anymore pain after this day."[33]

The Prophet ﷺ had a pitcher of water before him. He would dip his hand in it, wipe his face and say, "There is no god but Allāh. Surely, death has its pangs."[34]

When the suffering became more acute, he stopped speaking. Therefore, when Usāmah bin Zayd entered into the house, he only beckoned him with his hand.[35]

It looks like those were the moments when he was administered a potion of medicine without being asked, although he was signaling to them not to do it. They thought it was the usual patient's dislike of medicine.[36] He was, on the other hand, rejecting the medicine for pleurisy that they thought he was suffering from.[37]

[30] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/277/H. 4448).

[31] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/267-268/H. 4433-4434), and *Muslim* (4/1904/H. 2450).

[32] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (14/124/H. 3623), and *Muslim* (4/1905/H. 2450).

[33] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/283-284/H. 4462).

[34] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/278/H. 4449).

[35] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/398).

[36] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/281-282/H. 4458).

[37] Reported by 'Abdur-Razzāq through a *Sahih* chain who traced it to Asma'

(Because of the fever and sharp pains when breathing.) Abu Ya'la reports through Ibn Lahiy'ah, and he through 'Āishah ﵂ that the Prophet ﷺ died of pleurisy.[38]

Then came the last few moments of his life. As he was lying down in 'Āishah's cottage, 'Abdur-Rahmān, her brother entered in. He had a *Miswāk* (tooth stick) in his hand. From the Prophet's manner of looking, 'Āishah knew he wished to use it. She took it from him, softened it and he brushed his teeth with it. When he was finished with it, he raised his hand and pointed his finger. His eyes were staring at the roof. His lips moved. 'Āishah put her ear to his mouth. He was saying, "Among those You have blessed: the Prophets, the foremost believers, martyrs and the righteous. O Allāh forgive me, show me mercy and join me with the companions on High. O Allāh, unto the companions on High." He said that three times.[39] Those were the last words he spoke[40] and died shortly thereafter.[41]

That was before noon[42] or at noon.[43] Fātimah ﵂ exclaimed, "O my father! He has responded to the call of his Lord. His end will be in Firdaws Paradise. O my father. To Jibril we leave the announcement of your death."[44]

'Umar ﵁ would not believe that the Prophet ﷺ was dead. He began to say, "Allāh's Messenger has not died. Rather, he has been taken away into solitude as Musa spent forty days in solitude away

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bint 'Umays, as Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Fath* (16/282). Also recorded by *Ibn Sa'd* (2/235) through a chain in which figures 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Abu Zinād who was trustworthy. It is strengthened by the narrative in 'Abdur-Razzāq and others, as well as a few others reported by Ibn Sa'd.

[38] This was said by Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (16/282-283).

[39] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/278/H. 4449).

[40] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/285/H. 4463), and *Muslim* (4/1894/H. 2444) and others.

[41] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/278/H. 4449).

[42] Ibn Ishāq through a Connected (*Muttasil*) chain, but he did not clearly claim a hearing – *Ibn Hishām* (4/404).

[43] Tabari: *Tārikh* (3/200) through a chain in which falls Kalbi and Abu Mikhnaf who both were abandoned in *Hadith* matters.

[44] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/284/H. 4462).

from his people. By Allāh, I expect the Prophet to live long enough to cut off the hands and tongues of the hypocrites who say that the Prophet is dead."[45]

A little later Abu Bakr ﵁ arrived from Sunh. He uncovered the Prophet's face and kissed him. Then he wept and said, "May I sacrifice my mother for you, you will not suffer two deaths. You have already tasted the death that Allāh had decreed for you." Then he went out to face the people. They were between denial and acceptance. He saw 'Umar hotly contesting with those who believed he was dead. He told him to sit down. 'Umar refused. But the people left him alone and turned to Abu Bakr. He said, "After Allāh's praise. Whoever of you worshipped Muhammad, may know that Muhammad is dead. And whoever worshipped Allāh, may know that Allāh is Alive. He does not die." Then he recited Allāh's words,

﴿وَمَا مُحَمَّدٌ إِلَّا رَسُولٌ قَدْ خَلَتْ مِن قَبْلِهِ ٱلرُّسُلُ ۚ أَفَإِيْن مَّاتَ أَوْ قُتِلَ ٱنقَلَبْتُمْ عَلَىٰٓ أَعْقَـٰبِكُمْ ۚ وَمَن يَنقَلِبْ عَلَىٰ عَقِبَيْهِ فَلَن يَضُرَّ ٱللَّهَ شَيْـًٔا ۗ وَسَيَجْزِى ٱللَّهُ ٱلشَّـٰكِرِينَ﴾

"Muhammad is no more than a Mesenger. Other Messengers have been before him. Then, if he died, or is killed, will you turn on your heels? And whosoever turned on his heels, will do no harm to Allāh. And surely, Allāh will reward the grateful."[46]

That calmed the people. They felt as if they had not heard this Verse before. With the truth finally dawning upon 'Umar, his feet could not take his weight, and he slumped to the ground.[47]

The next day, that is, Tuesday, they bathed his body with his

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[45] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni*: (21/241-242), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/266), 'Abdur-Razzāq in his *Al-Musannaf* (5/433-434), all of them narrated through Zuhri and Anas, and their chains are *Sahih.* Ibn Ishāq also recorded it through a complete chain going through Zuhri, Ibn Musaiyab and Abu Hurayrah. However he did not claim to have directly heard. It is strengthened by supporting narratives. See also *Ibn Hishām* (4/406).

[46] *Surat Āl 'Imrān*: 144.

[47] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/279-280/H. 4452-4454).

clothes on.[48] It were 'Abbās, Fadl, Qutham, the two sons of 'Abbās, 'Ali, Shuqrān, the Prophet's freed slave, Usāmah and Aws bin Khawli who bathed him.[49]

They enshrouded him in three pieces of white cotton cloth. They did not use a shirt or a headgear.[50]

His grave was dug where he died, in 'Āishah's cottage.[51]

People prayed on him in batches, entering into the small room, praying and leaving by another door, without anyone leading in prayers.[52] It is said that it were first the Banu Hāshim who prayed over him, then *Muhājir*, then *Ansār*, then ordinary men, then women, then children,[53] and finally the slaves.[54]

He was laid to rest on Wednesday: [55]

"We all belong to Allāh, to Him we return. We all belong to Allāh, to Him we return."

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[48] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/416). Others have also narrated through other than this chain.

[49] Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain which has Husayn bin 'Abdullah in it, who was weak—*Ibn Hishām* (4/415).

[50] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (16/164/H. 1264), *Muslim* (2/649-650/941), Ibn Ishāq, through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/416).

[51] Ibn Ishāq through a chain which figures Husayn bin 'Abdullah—*Ibn Hishām* (4/416-417), *Ibn Sa'd* (2/292) through different chains, of which those that are traced through Abu Walid Tayālisi are *Sahih*. Also, it is a well-known report that has been narrated by Ibn Mājah in his *Sunan* (1/521/The Book of Funerals). Ibn 'Abdul-Barr said, "...but it is *Sahih* being reported through various lines, and through several reports collected together." It was quoted by Fuwād 'Abdul-Bāqi in the footnotes of *Al-Muwatta'* (1/231). Thus, the narrative is authentic coming through Tayālisi and which is strengthened by other weak narratives.

[52] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/253-254). Sā'āti said, "...Haythami documented it saying, 'Ahmad recorded it and its transmitters are reliable.'" Ibn Sa'd also recorded it (2/288-292) through several lines, one of them being as recorded by Ahmad. Ibn Kathir said in *Al-Bidāyah* (5/299) that this act of praying individually upon the funeral was unanimous.

[53] *Ibn Sa'd* (2/291) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

[54] Tabari in *Tārikh* (3/2130 being a narrative of Ibn Ishāq who did not claim direct hearing. Further it has Husayn bin 'Abdullah who was weak.

[55] See Ibn Ishāq through a *Hasan* chain—*Ibn Hishām* (4/418).

One can only weep along with Hassān bin Thabit[56] who said,

"So cry O eyes for the Messenger of Allāh copiously,
May I never find you with your tears dried!
Why should you not weep the kindly one
Whose bounteous robe covered all men?
Be generous with your tears and cries
At the loss of him whose equal will never be found.
Those gone by never lost one like Muhammad
And one like him will not be mourned till Judgement Day."

Lessons

1. Death is enough of an admonition. Allāh (ﷻ) has willed that death shall be the end of all humans, no matter how long they live, and whatever their status in this life. This is Allāh's unalterable law. The Qur'ān said,

﴿وَمَا جَعَلْنَا لِبَشَرٍ مِّن قَبْلِكَ ٱلْخُلْدَ أَفَإِيْن مِّتَّ فَهُمُ ٱلْخَٰلِدُونَ ﴿٣٤﴾ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَآئِقَةُ ٱلْمَوْتِ وَنَبْلُوكُم بِٱلشَّرِّ وَٱلْخَيْرِ فِتْنَةً وَإِلَيْنَا تُرْجَعُونَ﴾

"We have not given eternity to any man before you (O Prophet). If you died, will they live for ever? Every soul is to taste death. We try you with good and evil. And to Us you will return."[57]

He also said,

﴿إِنَّكَ مَيِّتٌ وَإِنَّهُم مَّيِّتُونَ﴾

"You are going to die and they too will die."[58]

Here we have Muhammad, Allāh's own slave and the best of mankind. He dies facing all the hardships of illness and death. If

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[56] From his elegiac poem, through Abu Zayd Ansāri being a long ode consisting of 46 couplets, see *Ibn Hishām* (4/424).

[57] *Surat Al-Anbiya'*: 34-35.

[58] *Surat Az-Zumar*: 30.

the people understood this little fact, they would know the true meaning of slavery to Allāh and become true believers in His Divinity, submitting to Him, the One, the Compeller. They would then prepare themselves to face death with good deeds, Allāh's obedience and sincerity in their devotions to Him–in every field of life, including the acceptance of Him as the only Law-giving Authority. They would not hesitate either, to struggle in His cause, for Allāh (ﷻ) removes by power what cannot be removed by the Qur'ān. Allāh, Who created the human beings, knows what is best for them in this world as well as in the Hereafter. He said,

﴿أَلَا يَعْلَمُ مَنْ خَلَقَ وَهُوَ ٱللَّطِيفُ ٱلْخَبِيرُ﴾

"Will He not know Who created? And He is the Subtle, the Knowing."[59]

2. The legality of charms. This is proven through reports in the *Sahihayn*. Nawawi,[60] Ibn Hajar[61] and others have stated the legality of charms provided three conditions are met: That they should have words from Allāh's revelation - either His Names or Attributes; that they should be in Arabic, or in a language whose meaning is known; and that they are accompanied by the belief that by themselves they are of no effect without the Will of Allāh.
3. Abu Bakr's superiority over all others of the Companions was proven when the Prophet ﷺ insisted that he alone lead in prayers.
4. Prohibition that graves be prostrated unto.
5. From the reports that we have narrated in connection with the Prophet's sickness, one can draw out many other lessons.

[59] *Surat Al-Mulk*: 14.
[60] Explaining *Sahih Muslim* (14/169).
[61] *Fath Al-Bāri*: (19/320/The Book of *Tibb*).

Chapter **29**

The Mothers of the Believers

In all, the Prophet ﷺ married fifteen women.[1] Of these he entered into thirteen, there being with him, at one time, eleven of them. But he died with nine in his marriage.[2] Two of them he divorced because one of them was corrupted by other women. To her they said, "When he approaches you, show disfavor." She did that and so he divorced her. As for the second one, what happened was that when Ibrāhim died she remarked, "If he was a Messenger, his son wouldn't have died." So he divorced her. Of the rest (apart from Khadijah ؓ), five were from the Quraysh: 'Āishah, Hafsah, Umm Salamah, Sawdah and Umm Habibah. The non-Qurayshis were: Maymunah Hilāliyyah, Juwayriyah Khuzā'iyyah, Zaynab bint Jahsh Asadiyyah, and Safiyyah the Khayberiyyah. These are the nine that were alive when he died.[3] We have already spoken of Khadijah ؓ and have given details of the marriage. We shall now speak of the rest in brief.

[1] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (7/288).
[2] Abu 'Ubaydah bin Muthanna': *Tasmiyatu Azwājin-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 77, Ibn Habib: *Al-Muhabbar*, p. 98. See *Ibn Sa'd* (8/141-150) for more details about women married by the Prophet ﷺ but did not bring them to his house, and those he separated from, and the reason why he separated. See also *Ibn Sa'd* (8/141-150) for details of women that the Prophet ﷺ intended to marry but marriage was not completed, and those women that offered themselves to the Prophet ﷺ.
[3] Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (7/289).

Sawdah bint Zam'ah bin Qays

She was an early believer, and an early emmigrant. She emigrated to Abyssinia along with her husband Sakrān bin 'Amr. He was a son of her father's uncle. Her family was of course upset at her Islam. Her husband died when they returned to Makkah. Some say he died in Abyssinia[4] itself, leaving her alone. The Prophet ﷺ feared her family might reclaim her (and persecute her since) they were foremost in the opposition to Islam. Also, he wished to reward her for her faith and the troubles she had borne. Therefore, the best way he thought was to marry her. He did that in the tenth year after being commissioned,[5] in the month of Ramadān. Khadijah ﷺ was dead by then. There is no difference in opinion over this. However, it seems likely that he married her in Shawwāl, after marrying 'Āishah ﷺ.

When 'Āishah taunted her over her age, she feared that she could be divorced by the Prophet ﷺ. But her great desire was to be raised as the Prophet's wife on the Day of Judgement. So she gifted away her day to 'Āishah.[6] It is said that the Verse 128 of *An-Nisa'* was revealed in reference to her. It said,

﴿وَإِنِ امْرَأَةٌ خَافَتْ مِنْ بَعْلِهَا نُشُوزًا أَوْ إِعْرَاضًا فَلَا جُنَاحَ عَلَيْهِمَا أَن يُصْلِحَا بَيْنَهُمَا صُلْحًا وَالصُّلْحُ خَيْرٌ﴾

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[4] Two reports have come down regarding the place where Sakrān bin 'Amr died. One, he died in Abyssinia, and the other that he died after returning from Abyssinia to Makkah. Ibn Abdul-Barr collected them in *Al-Isti'āb* (2/125), biography of Sakrān. Musa bin 'Uqbah and Abu Ma'shar supported the first opinion, and Ibn Ishāq supported the second one, see *Maghāzi*, p. 254–*Ibn Hishām* (2/9) and *Al-Wāqidi* (8/53) according to what Ibn Sa'd quoted of him (8/53). Ibn Hajar said in *Al-Isabāh* (2/ 59), "Abu 'Ubaydah claimed in his book, *Tasmiyatu Azwājin-Nabi* that he returned to Abyssinia, became a Christian and died. Balādhuri said that the first is correct, viz., he died a Muslim in Makkah.

[5] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/52-53) through Wāqidi as verified by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah* (3/149).

[6] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/273/H. 5212), *Muslim* (2/1085/H. 1463), *Abu Dāwud* (2/602/The Book of *Nikāh*/H. 2135), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/108) and (16/239): *Sahih Ibn Mājah* (1/334/H. 1972) where Albāni said it is *Sahih*.

"And if a woman fears from her husband either cruelty or desertion, then, there is no sin on the two that they should make peace between themselves, and peace is better."[7, 8]

She was a heavy woman, of slow movements. Once she said to the Prophet ﷺ, "Last night I prayed behind you, but while bowing down I held my nose from the fear of the blood drops." (That is because the Prophet's bowing and prostration were severely long). The Prophet ﷺ smiled at her.[9] And, because of her weight and old age, the Prophet allowed her and others of her kind to leave Muzdalifah at *Hajj* at night before others could do.[10]

'Āishah, Abu Bakr's Daughter

The Prophet ﷺ had a very special place in his heart for Abu Bakr ﷺ because of his services to his mission and the stand that he took on extremely important occasions. It was perhaps to strengthen the relationship between himself and Abu Bakr, his brother in Islam, that he decided to marry his daughter 'Āishah ﷺ.

'Āishah was a minor when the Prophet ﷺ married her in Shawwāl, the tenth year after prophethood. But the marriage was not consummated until Shawwāl of the second year after *Hijrah*.[11]

'Āishah says, "The Prophet married me after the death of Khadijah in the tenth year of his prophethood. I was then six. And the marriage was consummated when I was twelve."[12] However,

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[7] *Surat An-Nisa'*: 128.

[8] See Tabari: *Tafsir* (9/276-278) through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain, *Abu Dāwud* (2/602/The Book of Marriage/H. 2135), and Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (3/The Book of *Tafsir*/H. 2434), where Tirmidhi said that this has a *Hasan-Sahih* (Good & Sound) chain which was also the opinion of Albāni. See Bayhaqi: *Dalā'il An-Nubuwwah* (3/297)

[9] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/54) whose transmitters are reliable but it is Disconnected (*Mursal*). See her biography in *Al-Isābah* (4/338-339).

[10] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (8/335-336/H. 1680, 1681).

[11] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/58-59) through several chains running via Wāqidi. However his marriage to her and consummation in Shawwāl is proven by *Sahih* reports. See *Sahih Muslim* (2/1039/H. 1423).

[12] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/228/H. 5133), *Muslim* (2/1038-1039/H. 1422). Most of the narrations tell she was six. See Sā'āti: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/109).

another report says he married her when she was nine.[13]

The Prophet ﷺ saw a dream—and dreams of Prophets are true—that a man brought to him her (picture) in a fine piece of silk saying, "This is your wife." He uncovered it and saw her. He said, "If this be from Allāh, He is going to accomplish it."[14]

The Prophet ﷺ did not marry any virgin except her.[15]

Whoever studies the life of this lady, will be amazed by her intelligence, wisdom, knowledge, high morals, and will realize why it was that she was dear to the Prophet ﷺ.[16]

Hafsah, 'Umar's Daughter

Her husband, Khunays bin Hudhāfah Sahmi, who had fought at Badr, had died. He had migrated in the way of Allāh twice: once to Abyssinia, and another time to Madinah.[17] He received a wound at Uhud and died of it.[18] Some say he died after Badr.[19]

The Prophet ﷺ married her for the same reasons as he had married 'Āishah and Sawdah before, in addition to her great grief over the loss of a gallant husband. 'Umar also felt aggrieved because of her. He asked Abu Bakr and 'Uthmān to marry her hoping that the two would help him out in his grief. 'Uthmān refused on grounds that he was not in any need of a woman. Abu Bakr remained silent. 'Umar felt more vexed at the silence of Abu Bakr than he felt at 'Uthmān's rejection. It was not a few days after that, that the Prophet ﷺ himself offered to marry her. Then Abu Bakr met

[13] *Muslim* (2/1039/H. 1422). Most of the narrations tell she was six. One might say that reconciliation is possible by saying that she was six years and few months which some counted while others didn't.

[14] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/146/H. 5078), *Muslim* (4/1889-1890/H. 2438).

[15] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/145/H. 5077). Bukhāri is alone in documenting it.

[16] See her biography in *Al-Isābah* and chapters on personal merits in the books of *Hadith* and the reports that Sā'āti collected from *Al-Musnad: Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/109-128). It is an important source of information for the life of 'Āishah ؓ.

[17] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/211/H. 5122), *Al-Isābah* (1/456-457).

[18] Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isabah* (1/456), Ibn Abdul Barr: *Al-Isti'ab* (1/438).

[19] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/81-82) through Wāqidi, specifically stating it.

him and told him why he had kept quiet. The Prophet ﷺ had mentioned to Abu Bakr that he might marry Hafsah and Abu Bakr did not wish to publish a secret confided in him. He added, "If the Prophet rejects her, I'll accept her."[20] This shows that the Prophet ﷺ was aware of Hafsah's plight and wished to be of help as well as a source of comfort for her father who was dear to him in Islam.

It is reported that once the Prophet ﷺ divorced her but then took her back.[21] 'Umar entered on her while she was crying. He asked her, "Why are you crying? Has the Prophet divorced you? Earlier too the Prophet had divorced you, but took you back because of me. If he divorces you again, I shall never speak to you thereafter."[22]

It is said that when the Prophet ﷺ divorced her, Jibril came down and said, "Take Hafsah back, for she fasts a lot and stands in prayers often. Also, she is your wife in Paradise."[23]

Zaynab bint Khuzaymah Hilāliyyah

She was earlier married to Tufayl bin Hārith bin 'Abdul-Muttalib bin 'Abd Manāf who had divorced her.[24] Some say she was married to Jahm bin 'Amr bin Hārith.[25] In any case, after she was

[20] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/211-213/H. 1522); Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/130), through a Sound (*Sahih*) chain.

[21] Abu Dāwud: *Sunan* (2/712/The Book of *Talāq*/H. 2283) through a *Sahih* chain, Ibn Mājah: *Sunan* (1/650/The Book of *Talāq*/H. 2016); *Ad-Dārimi* (2/161/The Book of *Talāq*), and Nasa'i: *Sunan* (6/213/The Book of *Talāq*).

[22] Sā'āti mentioned it in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/130-131), remarking, "Haythami said it in *Al-Majma'* (4/333) that Tabarāni preserved it and its transmitters are reliable;" Ibn Ishāq: *As-Siyar wal-Maghāzi*, p. 257, through a Good (*Hasan*) chain, Ibn Hibbān in his *Sahih* (no. 1325) through a *Sahih* chain as said Albāni in *Irwa'ul-Ghalil* (7/158).

[23] Sā'āti mentioned it in *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/131) and added, "Haythami remarked that Tabarāni has preserved it and its transmitters are reliable."

[24] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/115) through Wāqidi, and Ibn Bakkār, p. 49, through a Weak (*Da'if*) chain. Ibn Hajar mentioned it in *Al-Isābah* (4/315) employing a term indicating its weakness.

[25] Ibn Ishāq, Suspended (*Mu'allaq*)—*Ibn Hishām* (4/391).

divorced, 'Ubaydah bin Hārith married her. He was martyred at Badr.[26] Some others say she was married to 'Abdullah bin Jahsh and that he died a martyr at Uhud.[27] In pre-Islamic days she was known as *Ummul-Masākin* (Mother of the poors) because of her charitable works.[28] Zubayr bin Bakkār[29] has reported that when the Prophet married her and offered a dinner in celebration, slaughtering a camel, so many poor people turned in for dinner that other people left the food entirely to them.

She was a sister of the Prophet's another wife Maymunah bint Hārith ﷺ by a common mother[30] Hind bint 'Awf bin Hārith bin Hamātah Himyariyyah.[31]

A woman who had seen so many husbands, two of whom were martyrs, and someone who was known to be kind to the poor, deserved that the Prophet ﷺ should take care of her. And what better manner there was than to marry her!? He did that in Ramadān thirty-one months after *Hijrah*. She remained with him eight months dying in Rabi'ul-Awwal, thirty-nine months after *Hijrah*. No other of the Prophet's wives died in his lifetime except Khadijah ﷺ and Zaynab ﷺ.

It is said that she was thirty years old when she died.[32] This sounds a bit strange because she was known as *Ummul-Masākin* in pre-Islamic times. Then she lived in Islam for 15 years. She must surely have been older than that when she died. Sawwāf[33] is one who has mentioned that she was sixty when the Prophet ﷺ married her. However, he does not state the source. But, if that is proved, then it seems more reasonable to accept.

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[26] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/115) through Wāqidi.

[27] Ibn 'Abdul-Barr: *Al-Isti'āb* (4/313) Suspended (*Mu'allaq*). He attributed it to no one, Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (4/315) *Mu'allaq*, who clearly stated it.

[28] Ibn Ishaq, *Mu'allaq – Ibn Hishām* (4/391), *Ibn Sa'd* (8/115) through Wāqidi.

[29] *Al-Muntakhab min Kitābi Azwājin-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 48, through a Weak (*Da'if*) chain.

[30] Ibn Abdul Barr: *Al-Isti'āb* (4/313), who attributed it to no one, Ibn Hajar: *Al-Isābah* (4/315).

[31] Ibn Habib: *Al-Muhabbar*, p. 105-109.

[32] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/115-116) through Wāqidi.

[33] *Zawjātun-Nabi* ﷺ *At-Tāhirāt*, p. 49.

Biographical works do not tell us much about her life with the Prophet ﷺ, especially her relationship with Sawdah, 'Āishah and Hafsah; which leads us to believe that she had none of those qualities that women are normally envious of (i.e., youth and beauty – *Translator*). No one ever spoke of that (i.e., envy) in her, nor did she ever speak of it in another.

Umm Salamah–Hind bint Abu Umaiyah–Makhzumiyyah

The pages of history have recorded this lady as one who worked behind the *Mujāhidin* lines during the Uhud battle. She was also a woman of opinion. We spoke of her when discussing the Hudaybiyah treaty. She was one of those courageous ones who migrated to Abyssinia along with her husband Abu Salamah. He was the son of the Prophet's aunt and his foster brother.

Her husband fought bravely at Uhud receiving serious injuries. However, with time they healed. But, later they opened again and ultimately he died of them.

He left four children behind him: Zaynab, Salamah, 'Umar and Durrah.[34] The Prophet ﷺ decided to heal her grief and include her among his wives. She needed that help, because she was an immigrant and had no relatives in the new place.

She narrates, "One day Abu Salamah came to me and said something the Prophet had said and which pleased me to hear. He said, 'There isn't a Muslim who seeks Allāh's refuge when a calamity descends on him and adds, "O Allāh, reward me for this calamity and award me with something better than what I have lost," ... no one said that but Allāh rewards him with better than what he lost.' So (she continued), I memorized those words. And, when Abu Salamah died, I said those words but said to myself, 'How can I find a man better than Abu Salamah!?' To be sure, when I had finished my waiting period, the Prophet sought entrance. I allowed him in. He sought to marry me. When he was finished with his proposal I said, 'O Messenger of Allāh, I cannot pretend that I

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[34] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/87, 89).

have no inclination towards you. But I am given to extreme jealousy. Maybe you will experience something from me that Allāh will punish me for. Further, I am an aged woman. Lastly, I have a family to support.' He replied, 'As for your jealousy, maybe Allāh will cure it. As for the age, I think I am not very young either. Finally, as for your children, well, your children are my children.' So I agreed." She said after the marriage, "Surely, Allāh gave me through the Prophet, someone better than Abu Salamah."[35]

According to other reports when she had completed her waiting period, Abu Bakr ﷺ sought her hand. But she declined. Then 'Umar ﷺ offered to marry her. She declined. Then the Prophet ﷺ sent his word. She said, "Welcome to the Messenger of Allāh. But I am a jealous woman, struck by misfortunes and have no guardian." The Prophet ﷺ replied through someone, "As for your words that you have been struck by misfortunes, Allāh will suffice you against misfortunes. As regards your words that you are extremely jealous, I will pray to Allāh that He cure you of it. And, as for the guardian, there is none of the people either near or far but would be happy that I married you." She said, "O 'Umar (her son), perform the marriage ceremony."[36]

The marriage took place in Shawwāl of the fourth year after *Hijrah*.[37]

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[35] *Muslim* (2/632-633/H. 918, 919), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/67), Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (1/288/The Book of *Janā'iz*/H. 990), Albāni: *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (1/245/H. 1447), *Ibn Sa'd* (8/89) through a *Sahih* chain.

[36] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/67-68) through a *Sahih* chain. Sā'ati mentioned that this *Hadith* was reported by Nasa'i, Tirmidhi, and Hākim who declared it *Sahih*. Dhahabi agreed to it. Ibn Hajar declared in *Al-Isābah* that the chain of Nasa'i is *Sahih*. The report mentioned that she refused to marry Abu Bakr, and 'Umar was not mentioned. Ibn Sa'd mentioned it through a *Sahih* chain, and the 'Umar that is mentioned in it is 'Umar bin Khattāb and not 'Umar bin Abu Salamah for he was then three years old. Further, it is only a wild guess that the allusion was to Ibn 'Umar. This was said by Ibn Qayyim in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (3/107-108). Ibn Kathir mentioned in *Al-Bidāyah* (4/103) that 'Umar mentioned there was another 'Umar other than her son.

[37] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/87) through Wāqidi.

Juwayriyah bint Hārith

We have written about her marriage to the Prophet ﷺ while speaking of the Mustaliq expedition.

The Prophet ﷺ wished to honor the women prisoners of the expedition. He treated them equal to the free ones and gave a good example of Islam's magnanimity. He removed the feelings of contempt the people held for prisoners. They would use them as housemaids or sell them off. They were even denied freedom through a mutual deal. By the Prophet's own example, the Muslims learnt how to treat the honorable ones among the prisoners. After this, history has recorded many cases of caliphs, rulers and rich men marrying prisoners of war, and who in turn gave birth to many rulers, scholars and great men. One might look into the history of Abbasids for this.[38]

Zaynab bint Jahsh

She was a daughter of the Prophet's aunt Umaymah. The Prophet ﷺ had married her off to Zayd bin Hārithah whom the Prophet ﷺ had freed and then adopted, until Allāh put an end to adoption. The following Verses from Allāh's revelation speak of her marriage first to Zayd and then to the Prophet ﷺ,

﴿وَإِذْ تَقُولُ لِلَّذِىٓ أَنْعَمَ ٱللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَأَنْعَمْتَ عَلَيْهِ أَمْسِكْ عَلَيْكَ زَوْجَكَ وَٱتَّقِ ٱللَّهَ وَتُخْفِى فِى نَفْسِكَ مَا ٱللَّهُ مُبْدِيهِ وَتَخْشَى ٱلنَّاسَ وَٱللَّهُ أَحَقُّ أَن تَخْشَىٰهُ فَلَمَّا قَضَىٰ زَيْدٌ مِّنْهَا وَطَرًا زَوَّجْنَٰكَهَا لِكَىْ لَا يَكُونَ عَلَى ٱلْمُؤْمِنِينَ حَرَجٌ فِىٓ أَزْوَٰجِ أَدْعِيَآئِهِمْ إِذَا قَضَوْا۟ مِنْهُنَّ وَطَرًا ۚ وَكَانَ أَمْرُ ٱللَّهِ مَفْعُولًا﴾

"When you were saying unto him whom you and Allāh had shown favors, 'Hold on to your wife and fear Allāh.' And, you were concealing in your heart what Allāh was to reveal, fearing the people. But Allāh is more deserving that you should fear Him. So when Zayd had no longer any need for her, We married her to

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[38] As instances of these references one is Zakariyya Kitābji: *At-Turk fi Mu'allafātil-Jāhiz.*

you so that there might not be any hindrance to the Muslims involving those they adopt, when they no longer have need for them. This was Allāh's command that had to happen."[39, 40]

Bukhārī[41] reports that Zayd ﷺ went up to the Prophet ﷺ complaining of his wife. The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Hold on to your wife and fear Allāh." 'Āishah ﷺ said, "Had the Prophet wished to conceal anything of the revelation, he would have concealed this Verse." And Zaynab used to boast among the Prophet's wives that while they were married off by their earthly custodians, she was married off by Allāh from above the seven heavens."

Her marriage to the Prophet ﷺ took place in early Dhul-Qa'dah of the fifth year after *Hijrah*. She was then thirty-five.[42] It was to remove the restrictions that the pre-Islamic customs placed in matters concerning adopted sons, as mentioned in *Surat Al-Aḥzāb*.

The explanation to the Verse offered by the scholars is that what the Prophet ﷺ was concealing in his heart was the news that Zaynab might become his wife. And what prompted him to conceal the piece of information was the fact that the people would say, "He married his son's wife."[43] But Allāh (ﷻ) wished to declare the pre-Islamic custom of not marrying a previous wife of one's adopted son null and void. And the best way was to get it done, right before the eyes of the people and at the hands of a Prophet.[44]

What we have stated is based on trustworthy reports

39 *Surat Al-Aḥzāb*: 37.

40 *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fatḥ* (18/139-140/H. 4787.

41 *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fatḥ* (28/191-192/H. 7420), Albānī: *Ṣaḥīḥ At-Tirmidhi* (3/92-93) who declared it *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

42 *Ibn Sa'd* (8/114).

43 Ibn 'Umar ﷺ narrated: "We used to call Zayd as Zayd bin Muhammad until Verses of the Qur'ān were revealed, *'Call them (adopted sons) by (the names) of their fathers, that is more just with Allāh,'* (*Surat Al-Aḥzāb*: 5) when we changed to Zayd bin Hārithah." See Albānī: *Ṣaḥīḥ At-Tirmidhi* (3/92) who declared it *Ṣaḥīḥ*.

44 Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fatḥ* (18/140/The Book of *Tafsir*. Allāh's Words: *"And, you were concealing in your heart what Allāh was to reveal."* See the explanation of the *Hadith* by Suddi in *Ibn Abu Ḥātim*, Qatādah in *'Abdur-Razzāq*, Tirmidhi in his *Sunan*, and *Tafsir Ibn Kathir* (6/420-421).

although, plenty of untrustworthy details have been spun around the story, especially those in Wāqidi's work. Such stories have been the fodder over which many have fed themselves, both in the past times, such as the atheists, as well as in modern times, such as the Orientalists.

Rayḥānah bint Zayd bin 'Amr bin Khunāfah

There is difference in opinion over her identity. It is said that in reality she was Rayḥānah bint 'Amr of Banu Nadir. Other said she was from Banu Qurayzah,[45] taken prisoner the day of Banu Qurayzah expedition. The Prophet ﷺ chose her for himself, freed her and then married her.[46] Subsequently he divorced her, but remarried her.[47]

Others have said that she was his slave and never a wife.[48] They also differed over her date of death, whether she died before the Prophet's death or earlier. They failed to agree over a date.[49] We tend to believe that she died during the Prophet's life because of

45 Because she was from Banu Nadir and married in Bani Qurayzah. This was said in *Al-Wāqidi* (2/520), with more details in *Al-Iṣābah* (4/309). Ibn Abdul Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (4/310): "The majority believe she was from Banu Qurayzah."

46 This was said in *Al-Wāqidi* (2/521) in one of the two reports being a narrative of Zuhri and that this *Hadith* is more authentic of the two. See also Ibn Bakkār: *Al-Muntakhab min Kitābi Azwājin-Nabi* ﷺ, pp. 55-56, being a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report of Ayyub bin 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Sa'sa'ah who was trustworthy. However, the chain also has Ibn Zabālah who had been abandoned in *Hadith* matters.

47 *Ibn Sa'd* (8/130) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

48 This was said by Ibn Ishāq, being a narrative of Ayyub bin 'Abdur-Rahmān bin Sa'sa'ah, *Mursal—Ibn Hishām* (4/339), and *Al-Wāqidi* (2/520-521) and Ibn Sa'd (8/131) through Wāqidi. The rest of its transmitters are worthy men. Ibn Ishāq's narrative strengthens the narrative of *Ibn Sa'd* (8/131). Ibn Qayyim accepted this in *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/13).

49 *Al-Wāqidi* (2/521): That she died during the life of the Prophet ﷺ, recorded through trustworthy narrators. See *Ibn Sa'd* (8/130-131) where there are two narrations through Wāqidi. But according to a narration by *Ibn Sa'd* (8/131) she died after the Prophet ﷺ.

stronger reports and because Ibn 'Abdul-Barr[50] was of this opinion.

Umm Habibah – Ramlah bint Abu Sufyān bin Harb

Umm Habibah was a daughter of Abu Sufyān. She had migrated with her husband 'Ubaydullah bin Jahsh the Asadi to Abyssinia. There he turned Christian and so she separated from him.

When the report of her husband's change of religion, and her own firmness in Islam reached the Prophet ﷺ, he sent 'Amr bin Umaiyah the Damri to Najāshi who married her to the Prophet ﷺ. Her custodian was Khālid bin Sa'eed bin 'Ās, her father's uncle's son. Najāshi sent her to Madinah along with Shurahbil bin Hasanah. Her dowry and other marriage expenses were paid by Najāshi.[51]

That was in the seventh year and she was over thirty years of age. She had earlier given birth to a daughter Habibah by the previous husband Ibn Jahsh in Abyssinia. Some say in Makkah itself.[52]

Whoever knows her firmness in Islam, will appreciate the Prophet's wisdom in marrying her, especially when her husband turned an apostate. The wisdom becomes all the more apparent when one considers her father's tooth and nail opposition to Islam. He had fought against the Prophet ﷺ in every battle after Badr, leading the Quraysh. If he was not there at Badr, it was because he was leading the caravan over which the battle took place. While

[50] See Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (4/310). It was said that she died in the tenth year after *Hijrah* after returning from the Farewell pilgrimage. This was said by *Ibn Sa'd* (8/130) through Wāqidi and Ibn Bakkār: *Al-Muntakhab min Kitābi Azwājin-Nabi*, p. 56, through a very weak chain.

[51] See: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/133) where Sā'āti said, "Its chain is Perfect (*Jaiyid*) which Abu Dāwud and Nasa'i also recorded." *Ibn Hishām* (4/389) briefly and through a *Hasan* chain, for it contains Ziyād Bakkā'i who was trustworthy in historical matters. *Ibn Sa'd* (8/96-99) being a narrative of Wāqidi. This has additions to the reports in Ahmad and Ibn Hishām to the effect that the Prophet ﷺ sent 'Amr Damri to the Negus to arrange his marriage to her.

[52] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/96-99) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

being married to the Prophet ﷺ – she received moral support for her steadfastness, her marriage helped decrease Banu Umaiyah's hatred towards Islam and its Prophet ﷺ. This was one of the objectives of the Prophet ﷺ. This is also apparent from the way he dealt with her father Abu Sufyān during the fall of Makkah, or at the time of the division of spoils at Hunayn and on other occasions. It continued until Allāh had guided him and his likes to Islam, and they became its defenders.

Safiyyah bint Huyaiy bin Akhtab of Banu Nadir

Several women were taken prisoner when Khayber fell. One of them was Safiyyah. The Prophet ﷺ purchased her from Dihyah, since she had fallen to his share. He freed her and then married her.[53] He entered into her on the way back to Madinah. Abu Ayyub Ansāri was guarding his tent that night fearful that she might deceptively attack the Prophet ﷺ.[54] But, as it came out, she had no hatred for the Prophet ﷺ. She had believed in his Messengership from the beginning, the day it was suggested by his Companions that she was fit for the Prophet ﷺ alone, or the day he purchased her from Dihyah. This is proven by the fact that when the Prophet ﷺ tried to enter into her when they were six miles off Khayber, she evinced disinclination. But when they reached Sahba', she welcomed him. When he asked her the reason for the earlier disinclination, she replied that she was afraid the Jews would attack her in the night. The Prophet ﷺ appreciated that.[55] The Prophet ﷺ told her, "Your father remained my most avowed enemy until Allāh destroyed him." She replied, "O Messenger of Allāh. Allāh says in His Book, '*No bearer of sins will bear the sins of another.*'" He told her, "Choose for yourself. If you choose Islam, I will marry you. If you choose Judaism, maybe I'll free you so that you can go and join them." She said, "O Messenger of Allāh! I was inclined to Islam and have believed in you even before you invited me to do so. When I

[53] *Sahih Muslim* (2/1045-1046/H. 1365) while in *Al-Bukhāri* it is stated that he chose her for himself. See *Al-Fath* (15/59-60/H. 4211).

[54] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/121) being a narrative of Wāqidi through several chains.

[55] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/123) being a narrative of Wāqidi.

came to you, I didn't have anyone among the Jews, neither a father nor a brother. You are giving me a choice between Islam and disbelief! You might know that Allāh and His Messenger are dearer to me than that I should be released and go back to my people." So the Prophet ﷺ retained her for himself.

Her mother belonged to Banu Qaynuqa'. Sallām bin Mishkam had earlier married her. Then he divorced her and she was married to Kinānah bin Rabi' bin Abu Huqayq. He was killed during the Khayber campaign. The Prophet ﷺ never heard her speak of her father. (She had heard of the Prophet's Messengership long back from her own father and uncle. They had admitted that he was a Prophet, but they vowed they would oppose him all the same—*Translator*.)

He had married her for the same reasons as he had married Juwayriyah. For, she was the daughter of a leader of the Jews. He, her husband and her brother had all died fighting against Islam. It was necessary to deal with her in an honorable manner because of her position among the Jews.

The marriage also disproves the allegation that the Jews often make, viz., his quarrel with them was racial. Racial thoughts never occurred to the Prophet ﷺ.

Safiyyah stayed with the Prophet ﷺ. The Prophet ﷺ used to give her ideas about how to defend herself whenever trouble occurred between her and his other wives. Tirmidhi[56] has a report which says, "Safiyyah heard Hafsah's remark that she was after all the daughter of a Jew. The Prophet ﷺ found her crying when he entered upon her. He asked her the reason. She said, 'Hafsah says I

[56] Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (3/244-245/The Book of *Manāqib*/H. 4166) where he ruled it *Sahih*. When he said "the daughter of a Prophet" he meant Ishāq ﷺ, and by "the niece of a Prophet," the allusion was to Ismā'il ﷺ. This *Hadith* was also reported by Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/163) through a reliable chain. According to a report in Tirmidhi's *Sunan* (9/398/The Book of *Manāqib*/H. 3891) that 'Āishah too said this along with Hafsah. But the report is weak because of Hāshim bin Sa'eed Kufi. Tirmidhi said, "This is a Unfamiliar (*Gharib*) *Hadith* that we do not know through any other chain but that of Hāshim Kufi whose attribution was not strong." This is stated in *Jāmi'ul-Usul* (9/144).

am the daughter of a Jew.' The Prophet ﷺ told her, 'You are the daughter of a Prophet, the niece of a Prophet and the wife of a Prophet. How can they ever seek to air superiority over you?' Then he admonished Hafsah, 'Fear Allāh, O Hafsah.'"

It is said that the Prophet ﷺ abandoned Zaynab bint Jahsh ﷺ for three months when she called Safiyyah a Jewess. When he finally waved away the abandonment, she gifted one of her slaves to the Prophet ﷺ in celebration of the Prophet's forgiveness, and as atonement for the slip.[57] That was during the Farewell pilgrimage as can be understood from various reports in this connection.

Maymunah bint Hārith Hilaliyyah

While discussing the missed *'Umrah*, we spoke about her marriage. We might point out here the good traits the Prophet ﷺ saw in her that led him to marry her. 'Āishah ﷺ reports, "... As for her, she was the most fearful of Allāh, and the most charitable of us towards the kin."[58] The Prophet ﷺ said about her and about her other sisters, "Maymunah's sisters are believers, and so are Umm Fadl and Asma'."[59]

It was 'Abbās, his uncle, who was covetous that the Prophet ﷺ should marry her. He suggested, "O Messenger of Allāh. Maymunah – Harith's daughter – has become a widow. Do you think you can marry her?"[60] Obviously, 'Abbās knew Maymunah very well, for she was his wife Umm Fadl's sister.

[57] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/144) through a *Hasan* chain. Sā'āti said, "I have not come across this report except in Ahmad, but its chain is Perfect (*Jaiyid*)." But Ahmad preserved through another route whose chain is Good (*Hasan*) for it has Shumaysah, who was in any case acceptable. The *Hadith* was also reported by *Ibn Sa'd* (8/126-127) through the second route with a *Jaiyid* chain and its carriers are reliable as said by Sā'āti.

[58] *Ibn Sa'd* (8/139) whose chain Ibn Hajar called Sound (*Sahih*) in *Al-Isābah* (4/413).

[59] Ibn Hajar mentioned this in *Al-Isābah* (4/412) and attributed it to Ibn Sa'd, its chain is *Sahih*.

[60] Reported by Ibn Abdul-Barr in *Al-Isti'āb* (4/407) being a report of Shurahbil bin Sa'd, Disconnected (*Mursal*).

This lady indeed was of such good qualities that she deserved to be a member of the Prophet's family, in recognition of her virtues and in order to soften her family towards Islam.

Slave-Girls

The Prophet ﷺ did not have any slave-girls except Māriyah,[61] Ibrāhim's mother and another girl who had been taken prisoner in a battle.[62] Then there was a third whom Zaynab bint Jahsh[63] had gifted him. As for Rayhānah, there is difference in opinion over her status. But one is inclined to believe that she was a slave-girl and not a wife. As for Māriyah, it is reported that the Prophet ﷺ said when she gave birth to his child Ibrāhim: "Her son has freed her."[64]

[61] See her story in the chapter dealing with the letters of the Prophet ﷺ to the kings and the chiefs – Muqawqis.

[62] See Ibn Kathir: *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/344), Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (22/148) and Ibn Qayyim: *Zādul-Ma'ād* (1/114). Their sources are not mentioned.

[63] We mentioned this in the story of Safiyyah and Zaynab calling her names, being a *Hadith* of Ahmad through a Perfect (*Jaiyid*) chain.

[64] This *Hadith* was taken by Ibn Kathir in *Al-Bidāyah wan-Nihāyah* (5/341) from Tabarāni, attributing it to Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ. Then he remarked, "Reported by *Ibn Mājah* (Book 19/Chapter 20) being a transmission of Husayn bin 'Abdullah. We have received it through other sources too." Bayhaqi said in *Sunan Al-Kubra* (10/346) about the chain of this report: "The report has Abu Bakr bin Abu Sabrah who was weak, not to be considered except that he also narrated through others than Husayn bin 'Abdullah bin 'Ubaydullah bin 'Abbās, through 'Ikrimah, through Ibn 'Abbās in these words. Husayn has been declared weak by most scholars of *Hadith*." Abu Uways also narrated in this manner in a Disconnected (*Mursal*) form, reaching up to Ibn 'Abbās. Sa'eed bin Kulayb and 'Abdullah bin Salamah bin Aslam, through Husayn bin 'Abdullah, as also narrated by Ibn Saburah. Thereafter Bayhaqi reports another narrative of 'Ali bin 'Umar Hāfiz, through Ziyād bin Ayyub, reaching up to Ibn 'Abbās. Ibn Turkmāni said in *Al-Jawharun-Naqi* as an addendum to *Sunan Al-Kubra* of Bayhaqi (347): "Hākim reported this *Hadith* in *Al-Mustadrak*, and said that its chain is *Sahih*. Then he mentioned some of the supportive narratives. Ibn Hibbān also recorded it as a narrative of Abu 'Āsim, through Abu Bakr Nahshali, through Husayn. As for Nahshali, Muslim

Had the Prophet ﷺ desired several slave-girls, he could have taken them. The prevalent social system allowed multiple wives and slave-girls. We have not heard of the Jews and Christians making an issue of the number of wives Sulaymān[65] had, as they make issue of the Prophet's wives. There is no doubt that the raising of the issue in our times has evil objectives behind it.

Wisdom in Plurality of Wives

The wives that the Prophet ﷺ left behind him served as teachers and jurists to men and women of this *Ummah*, especially in matters pertaining to affairs of women, as well as Islamic rules, laws, etiquette, and Prophetic affairs in reference to family life. Apart from that, they were models of piety and righteous living, as the Prophet ﷺ was a model in the way he dealt with his wives. He treated them well, doing justice to everyone of them, and taught them rules of law pertaining to women. It was a requirement of the mission he was entrusted with, that he should have several wives, since, it would have been difficult for a single wife to learn and teach all the rules of family life that he had brought.[66]

reported through him and a group of scholars declared him trustworthy. The *Hadith* has another supportive report through another route consisting of a *Jaiyid* chain. And Ibn Hazm, 'We have been handed down this report through Qāsim bin Asbagh...' then he added, 'This is a report of a Perfect (*Jaiyid*) chain. All its narrators are trustworthy.' Then he added in The Book of *Buyu'*: '*Sahih*.'"

In short, the *Hadith* picks up strength from supportive reports. One might see the rulings with regard to *Ummul-Walad* (a slave woman who begets a child for her master) in Ibn Qudāmah: *Al-Mughni* (9/527) and Bayhaqi: *Sunan Al-Kubra* (10/342-349).

[65] Bukhāri, Muslim and Ahmad reported that Prophet Sulaymān ﷺ had multiple wives; whose number, according to some reports reached a hundred. The least number mentioned was sixty. See *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (13/215/H. 3424) and Ibn Hajar: *Al-Fath* (13/217-218/explanation of the *Hadith* 3424).

[66] See Sawwāf: *Zawajātun-Nabi* ﷺ *At-Tāhirāt wa Hikmatu Ta'addudihinna*, p. 17.

On the other hand, there was no reason why they should have remained with him at all. (They could as well have sought separation.) For, as is well known, theirs was a hard life with him. It was so difficult that once they surrounded him to force him to allow them larger allowance. In response, he gave them the option of separation or remaining with him bearing the hardships.[67] This has been narrated in the Qur'ān also which said,

﴿يَٰٓأَيُّهَا ٱلنَّبِيُّ قُل لِّأَزْوَٰجِكَ إِن كُنتُنَّ تُرِدْنَ ٱلْحَيَوٰةَ ٱلدُّنْيَا وَزِينَتَهَا فَتَعَالَيْنَ
أُمَتِّعْكُنَّ وَأُسَرِّحْكُنَّ سَرَاحًا جَمِيلًا ﴿٢٨﴾ وَإِن كُنتُنَّ تُرِدْنَ ٱللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُۥ وَٱلدَّارَ
ٱلْءَاخِرَةَ فَإِنَّ ٱللَّهَ أَعَدَّ لِلْمُحْسِنَٰتِ مِنكُنَّ أَجْرًا عَظِيمًا﴾

"O Prophet. Tell your wives, 'If you prefer the life of this world and its glamour, then come, let me provide you (with gifts) and free you in a goodly manner. But, if you are aiming at Allāh, His Messenger, and the Hereafter, then (know that) Allāh has prepared great rewards for those of you who do good."[68]

It might also be noticed that among the wives of the Prophet ﷺ were a variety of women: a young girl who played with dolls, an old woman, daughter of a sworn enemy, a daughter of a close friend, someone whose major activity was to look after the orphans, another who stood distinct in her devotion to Allāh. Surely, they were, on the whole, examples for the Muslims. And through them the Prophet ﷺ demonstrated how to deal honorably and successfully with women of such variety.

When the Prophet ﷺ migrated to Madinah, enmity towards him did not remain restricted to the Quraysh, rather, it spread to tribes all around. It was necessary that the Prophet ﷺ should nullify the enmity of as many people as possible through marriages with members of tribes, for, it was the practice among the Arabs that the

[67] See the commentary on Verse no. 28 of *Surat Al-Aḥzāb* and the *Aḥādith* mentioned in that regard. See also *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fatḥ* (18/136-139/H. 4785) and *Muslim* (2/1103-2113/H. 14751479) and others.

[68] *Surat Al-Aḥzāb*: 28.

tribe should defend the husbands of their women. This is evident from the very word they chose to use for themselves in reference to the sons-in-law: *Aḥma'*, meaning those who protect.

And since the wisdom in plurality of wives could be exploited by others of the Prophet's followers for sexual reasons alone, Allāh (ﷻ) prohibited it for anyone else, declaring it a specialty of the Prophet ﷺ, allowing others no more than four wives at a time.[69]

[69] See Dr. Muhammad Ruwās Qala'ji: *Qirā'atun-Jadidatun lis-Siratun-Nabawiyyah,* pp. 34-35.

The Prophet's Character

The Prophet ﷺ stood out completely from everyone else in regard to his character and manners. At this point, I wish to present only a few of those qualities that the people always stand in need of emulation. Obviously, the Prophet's character and conduct were a reflection of the values he held dear in his heart. Anyone wishing to follow him needs to adorn himself with the same values. Herewith are a few of his qualities:

Economy in Food Consumption

Anas ﷺ said, "The Prophet ﷺ never had a lunch or dinner consisting of bread and mutton unless he had a guest."[1] According to another report brought to us by Mālik bin Dinār, "The Prophet ﷺ never enjoyed a hearty meal consisting of bread and mutton ever in his life, unless he had guests."[2] 'Āishah ﷺ said, "Muhammad's home folk never had the joy of a stomach full from barley bread for

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[1] Reported by Tirmidhi in *Ash-Shamā'il*, p. 48, and Albāni remarked in *Mukhtasarush-Shamā'ilil-Muhammadiyah*: "Its chain is *Sahih*, meeting the conditions of the *Shaykhayn*." Ibn Hibbān also documented it in *Al-Mawārid* (H. 2533); Ahmad in *Al-Musnad* (3/270); *Ibn Sa'd* (1/404); Abu Shaykh: *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 278.

[2] Reported by Tirmidhi in *Ash-Shamā'il*. Albāni said in *Mukhtasarush-Shamā'ilil-Muhammadiyah*, p. 76, that its chain is *Mursal-Sahih* (Disconnected & Sound).

two consecutive days until the Messenger of Allāh was dead."[3] The words of another report are: "Muhammad's home folk never had a stomach full from wheat bread for three consecutive nights until he was dead."[4] There are other reports with Muslim,[5] Abu Shaykh[6] and Tirmidhi[7] of the same meaning.

Ibn 'Abbās ﷺ said: "The Prophet ﷺ and his home folk used to continually sleep on empty stomachs, unable to find anything for dinner. And their food consisted mostly of barley bread."[8]

'Āishah ﷺ also reports that the Prophet ﷺ would go to her and ask, "Have you something to eat?" When she said no, he would declare, "In that case we shall fast (this day)."[9]

Bukhāri and others have recorded from 'Āishah ﷺ that she said, "The Prophet ﷺ died with his coat of mail mortgaged to a Jew for thirty weights of barley."

Bukhāri and other trustworthy collectors have also recorded 'Āishah's report that the Prophet ﷺ brought some food grains from a Jew and left his coat of mail in pledge. And Imam Shāfi'i has stated in his *Al-Umm* that the name of the Jew was Abu Shahm belonging to Banu Zafar. However, this is a Disconnected (*Mursal*) report. So is 'Ayni's judgment.

Economy in Furniture

'Āishah ﷺ reports, "The mattress on which the Prophet ﷺ slept

3 *Muslim* (4/2282/H. 2970), and Tirmidhi in *Ash-Shamā'il*. Albāni said in *Mukhtasar Ash-Shamā'il*, p. 86, as well as Da'ās in *Mukhtasar*, that this *Hadith* is *Sahih*. See Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (2/276/The Book of *Zuhd*/H. 2476). Abu Shaykh in *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 276, also said that the *Hadith* is *Sahih*.

4 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (20/249/H. 5416), *Muslim* (4/2281/H. 2970) and others.

5 *Muslim* (4/2281-2282/H. 2970-2971).

6 *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ, pp. 276-277.

7 Albāni: *Sahih At-Tirmidhi* (2/276/The Book of *Zuhd*/H. 2478, 2479).

8 Albāni and Da'ās quoted it in the *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilil-Tirmidhi*, p. 87. The two verifiers said that his *Hadith* is *Sahih*, *Ibn Sa'd* (1/400). Albāni: *Silsilatul-Ahādithus-Sahihah*, no. 21119.

9 *Muslim* (2/808-809/H. 1154). Albāni and Da'ās said in *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilil-Tirmidhi*, p. 102 that this *Hadith* is *Hasan*.

was made of leather stuffed with frond."[10]

Humbleness

The Prophet ﷺ said, "Don't commit excesses in reverence of me as the Christians did with regard to Jesus Christ. I am but a slave, so refer to me as, 'Allāh's slave and His Messenger.'"[11]

Anas ﷺ says that there was a woman who was mentally somewhat unstable. Once she said, "O Messenger of Allāh. I have some work for you to attend." He replied, "O mother of so-and-so. Wait in one of the lanes of your choice until I am free to attend to your need." Then he met her in one of the lanes and attended to her work.[12]

There was a slave-girl in Madinah who would take the Prophet ﷺ by hand and lead him where she wished.[13]

He would be invited to a dinner of barley and thickened oil that had begun to smell foul, and he would respond.[14] He said, "If I am invited to a meal of goat's foot, I will attend. And if I am sent a goat's foot as gift, I would accept it."[15]

And, despite the fact that he was the most beloved unto his Companions, they would not rise for him (when he arrived) because they knew he disapproved of it.[16]

Speaking of the good virtue of humility he said, "Should I not tell you about the best of you? It is every weak person, treated weak,

10 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (24/77/4656), and *Muslim* (3/1650/H. 2082). The words here are from *Muslim*.

11 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (13/150-151/H. 3445).

12 *Muslim* (4/1813/H. 2326). See Albāni and Da'ās: *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 176.

13 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/285/H. 6072).

14 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (10/229/H. 2508), Albāni and Da'ās: *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 177.

15 *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (11/6/H. 2568), Albāni and Da'ās: *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 179, through a *Sahih* chain.

16 Albāni and Da'ās: *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 178, through a *Sahih* chain, *Al-Bukhāri*: *Al-Adabul-Mufrad*, p. 946, Abu Shaykh: *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 63.

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6 *Akhlāqun-Nabi*, pp. 276-277.

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but if he swore on Allāh, He would do it as he swore ... May I not tell you about the people of the Fire? Every coarse mannered, gluttonous, proud man."[17] He also said, "...No one ever was humble for the sake of Allāh,[18] but He raised him (in status)." Pride is one of Allāh's own Attributes and, therefore, He has forbidden it unto the people. He also said, "...Might is Allāh's own upper garment, and Pride is His lower garment. Allāh says, 'Whoever quarrelled with Me over them, I shall punish him.'"[19]

And the Prophet ﷺ was never shy of serving his family members.[20]

Manners

The Prophet ﷺ used to receive people with a smiling face and speak to the worst of people with good manners, succeeding in softening them.[21]

Anas ؓ served him for ten years. Never did he tell him once, "Oof." He never asked him about a thing he did as to why he did, or to what he failed to do as to why he failed to do.[22]

He never spoke any indecency, never shouted in the market place, and would never respond to evil with evil, rather with forgiveness and clemency.[23] He used to say, "The best of you are

[17] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/285/H. 6071).

[18] *Muslim* (4/2001/H. 2588). Apparently, the *Hadith* is promising a rise in rank in this world as well as the Next.

[19] *Muslim* (4/2023/H. 2620).

[20] Bukhāri reported in this meaning/*Al-Fath* (22/249/H. 6039), as well as other *Ahādith* carrying the same meaning.

[21] Part of a *Hadith* reported by Tirmidhi through a *Hasan* chain, as with Albāni and Da'ās in *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 181.

[22] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/247-249/H. 6038), *Muslim* (4/1804/H. 2309). It is also part of a *Hadith* reported by *Tirmidhi* through a *Sahih* chain. See Albāni and Da'ās in *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 181.

[23] Reported by Tirmidhi: *Sunan* (6/222/The Book of *Birr*/H. 2017) where he remarked that the *Hadith* is *Hasan-Sahih*. Albāni and Da'ās regarded the *Hadith* as *Sahih*, see *Sahih Sunan At-Tirmidhi* (2/196/The Book of *Birr*). Its first part has supporting evidence in a report of *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/245/H. 6035), as well as Abu Shaykh: *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ, p. 37.

those who are best in manners."[24]

He said to 'Āishah ؓ, "The worst of men is one whom the people abandoned fearing his indecency."[25]

He prohibited cursing saying, "It doesn't become of a *Siddiq* (truthful) that he should curse."[26] He also said, "Those who curse will not be allowed to intercede or testify on the Day of Judgement." When he was told, "Pray to Allāh against the pagans, he said, 'I haven't been sent to curse the people. I have been sent as a Mercy.'"[27]

And, if he cursed someone, or prayed against him, but the person did not deserve it, then that proved to be good for the man, for he supplicated to Allāh in words, "... O Allāh! I am only a human being. If I curse a Muslim, or pray against him, then cleanse him thereby and give him good rewards."[28]

The Prophet ﷺ was never given a choice but he chose the easier option without committing a sin. If it was a sin, he was far removed from it. He never sought revenge for himself. It was only when Allāh's commandments were broken that he sought to punish.[29]

He never struck with his hands a woman, a servant, or a beast, except in a battlefield.[30]

He was never asked for a thing and said, "No."[31]

Anas ؓ says, "The Prophet ﷺ was the best mannered of the people. I had a brother called 'Umayr. When he saw him he would say, 'O Abu 'Umayr, what did Nughayr do.' Nughayr was a bird

[24] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/245/H. 6035). This is the second half of the *Hadith* mentioned in the above footnote.

[25] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/262/H. 6054), and *Muslim* (4/2002/H. 2591).

[26] *Muslim* (4/2005/H. 2597).

[27] *Muslim* (4/2007/H. 2598-2599).

[28] *Muslim* reported ten *Ahādith* in this chapter. See them in (4/2007-2010/H. 2600-2604), what I mentioned here is the first *Hadith*.

[29] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (25/223/H. 6786), and *Muslim* (4/1813/H. 2328). Albāni and Da'ās: *Mukhtasar Shamā'ilit-Tirmidhi*, p. 183, through a *Sahih* chain, and Abu Dāwud in The Book of *Adab*, no. 4785.

[30] Part of a *Hadith* reported by *Muslim* (4/1814/H. 2328). Albāni: *Mukhtasar Shamā'il*, p. 187, through a *Sahih* chain.

[31] *Muslim* (4/1805/H. 2311) and others.

'Umayr used to play with.[32] When it died and the Prophet ﷺ found him in a state of grief, he said those words."[33]

His Courage

Anas ؓ narrated: "The Prophet ﷺ was one of the most handsome of people and the most courageous. One night the Madinans woke up to a huge noise. Everyone ran out in apprehension in the direction of the noise. They found the Prophet ﷺ heading towards them. He had outdone them in hurrying to the source of noise. He was on Abu Talhah's horse riding it without a saddle, a sword hanging by his neck. He said, 'Don't worry, don't worry.' Then he said about the horse, 'We found him a sea', or 'it is a sea.'" The narrator adds: "Earlier, the horse was a slow one."[34]

'Ali ؓ said, "When fighting became too severe at Badr, we sought the shelter of the Prophet ﷺ. He was the toughest of men," or he said, "no one was nearer the enemy lines than him." Another narration says, "I have seen, myself as well as others on the day of Badr, seeking the Prophet's shelter. He was close to the pagans and fighting most vigorously."[35]

We have also seen his courage at Uhud and Hunayn when Allāh (ﷻ) put the Muslims to a test.

Shyness and Modesty

Abu Sa'eed Khudri ؓ said, "He was more modest and shy than a virgin. When he disliked a thing we knew it from his face."[36] He used to say, "Modesty and shyness accrue nothing but good." Ibn 'Umar ؓ narrates that the Prophet ﷺ passed by a man who was

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[32] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/295 296/H. 6203). Nughayr is a bird similar to the sparrow.

[33] Bayhaqi: *Sunan Al-Kubra* (10/248), and *Al-Adab*, p. 135.

[34] *Muslim* (4/1802/2307) *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (12/22/H. 2866, 2867), shortened.

[35] Ahmad: *Al-Fathur-Rabbāni* (21/36) and the *Musnad* (2/653/Shākir). Sa'āti and Shākir declared its chain *Sahih*.

[36] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/314/H. 6102).

reproaching another over his over-shyness. He told him, "Leave him alone. Modesty and shyness are a part of faith." He said, "Of the talk of the earlier Messengers that the people have inherited (one is), 'If you are not ashamed, then do as you wish.'"

However, the Prophet ﷺ was never shy in matters of truth. Umm Salamah narrates that Umm Sulaym went up to the Prophet ﷺ and said, "O Messenger of Allāh. Allāh is not ashamed of truth. Has a woman to take a bath after a wet dream?" He replied, "Yes, if she discovers wetness."

Making Things Easy for Others

The Prophet ﷺ said, "Make things easy and not hard. Bring them closer and do not create hatred." Abu Hurayrah ؓ reports that a Bedouin urinated in the mosque. People jumped on him. The Prophet ﷺ said, "Let him off. Pour water on the urine. You have been raised to make things easy and not difficult."[37]

He said about gentleness, "He who is denied gentleness is denied a lot of good." And, "Allāh is Gentle and loves the gentle. He gives on gentleness what He doesn't on coarseness and what He does not give in any other way." And, "There never entered gentleness in any affair but improved it and it was not removed from an affair, but spoiled it."[38]

Anger

Forgiveness and clemency in moments of anger is one of the qualities of a believer. Allāh (ﷻ) said about it,

﴿. . . وَإِذَا مَا غَضِبُوا۟ هُمْ يَغْفِرُونَ﴾

"... And when they are angry, they forgive."[39]

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[37] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/322-328/H. 6117-6128).

[38] *Muslim* (4/2003-2004/H. 2592-2594).

[39] *Surat Ash-Shura*: 37. See the commentary on it in Ibn Kathir's *Tafsir* (7/197).

The Prophet ﷺ said, "A good wrestler is not one who can put down another. It is he who controls himself in moments of anger." When one of the men asked the Prophet ﷺ, "Advise me," he said, "Never get angry," repeating it several times.[40]

Clemency and Deliberateness

He approved of these two qualities. When Ashajj bin 'Abdul-Qays came along he told him, "You have two qualities that Allāh and His Messenger approve of: clemency and deliberateness."[41]

Good Neighborliness

He said, "Jibril kept reminding me about the neighbor until I thought he will include him in inheritance."[42]

He told Abu Dharr ﷺ, "O Abu Dharr. When you prepare soup, add some water and send a little of it to your neighbor." According to another report, "...then look at your neighbors and treat them well."[43] He also said, "He who believes in Allāh and the Last Day, may not annoy his neighbor."[44] According to yet another narration: "Whoever believes in Allāh and the Last Day may do good to his neighbors."[45]

Kindness towards Children

Anas ﷺ reports that once the Prophet ﷺ took his child Ibrāhim, kissed him and smelled him.[46]

The Prophet ﷺ declared that Paradise was for him who brought up three children but who died while they were still young. He gets

[40] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/319-320/H. 6114, 6116), *Muslim* (4/2014/H. 2609).
[41] Part of a *Hadith* reported by *Muslim* (1/48/H. 17-18).
[42] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22-26/H. 6014), *Muslim* (4/2025/H. 2624-2625).
[43] *Muslim* (4/2025/H. 2625).
[44] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/H. 6018).
[45] Albāni: *Sahih Sunan Ibn Mājah* (2/296/H. 3672).
[46] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (6/211/H. 1303).

the reward for the kindness shown to them.[47]

His eyes would overflow with tears at the death of one of them. Once Sa'd bin 'Ubādah exclaimed in puzzle, "O Messenger of Allāh. What's this?" He replied, "This is mercy that Allāh has planted in the hearts of His slaves. Indeed, Allāh shows mercy to him who shows mercy to the people."[48] When eyes were filled with grief at the death of his son Ibrāhim, Ibn 'Awf remarked, "Even you, O Messenger of Allāh!?" He replied, "O Ibn 'Awf. It is mercy for him whose (one drop of tear) follows another." He also said, "Surely, the eye is filled with tears, the heart is aggrieved, but we do not say except what is approved by Allāh. O Ibrāhim, I am aggrieved at your loss."[49]

Once he came out of his house with Umāmah, a daughter of Ibn Rabi' and Zaynab, on his shoulder. He led in the prayers. When he bowed down, he placed her down and when he stood up he took her back on his shoulder.

Once he kissed Hasan bin 'Ali in the presence of Aqra' bin Hābis. He remarked, "I have ten children, but I never kissed anyone of them." The Prophet ﷺ looked at him briefly and then said, "He who does not show mercy, is not shown mercy."

Once a Bedouin came to him and asked, "Do you kiss your children? We never do." The Prophet ﷺ replied, "What can we do if Allāh has withdrawn love from your hearts?"[50]

His Weeping near a Sick Person

Once when Sa'd bin 'Ubādah was sick he visited him and found him motionless." He exclaimed, "Is he dead?" They said, "No." He began to weep. When they saw him weeping, they also wept. He remarked, "Allāh does not punish because of tears of the eye, nor for the grief in the heart. He punishes because of this— pointing to

[47] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (6/298/H. 1381).
[48] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (6/189-190/H. 1284).
[49] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (6/212/H. 1303).
[50] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (210-212/H. 5996-5998).

his tongue—or shows mercy."[51]

Prohibiting Tyranny

He said, "Allāh will punish those who beat others in this world."[52]

Kindness to Women

The Prophet ﷺ likened them to glassware hinting at their weakness, frailty, soft-heartedness, and inability to bear a lot. Thus, they deserve kindness. There were many situations in which he used to register this message. For example,

1. He was in one of his journeys. There were women travelers. One of them was Umm Sulaym and a young black slave-boy called Anjashah who was singing. The Prophet ﷺ said, "O Anjashah. Handle the glassware with care."[53]

2. Once his camel bolted. His wife Safiyyah ؓ was with him on it. They were both thrown to the ground. Abu Talhah rushed to them. The Prophet ﷺ told him, "Attend to the woman."[54]

3. Anas ؓ narrates that the Prophet ﷺ said, "Whoever looked after two girls until they reached their womanhood, will appear on the Day of Judgement along with me, like this: he closed in his fingers in demonstration."[55]

4. He said, "Whoever was tested with these girls, but did well towards them, will have them shelter him against the Fire."[56]

5. He also said, "The best of charity is to support your daughter after she has been rejected by her husband, at a time she has no one

[51] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (6/214/H. 1304).

[52] *Muslim* (4/2017-2018/H. 2613).

[53] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/349-350/H. 6149) and (22/H. 6161, 6202, 6209, 6211).

[54] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/379-380/H. 6185).

[55] *Muslim* (4/2027/H. 2629).

[56] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (22/209/H. 5995); *Muslim* (4/2028/H. 2631).

else to support her except you."[57]

6. He loved his own daughters greatly. Whenever Fātimah ؓ arrived to see him, he got up, took her by the hand, kissed her on the forehead and made her sit where he was sitting.[58]

7. He said, "Sometimes I wish to prolong my prayers (while leading you), but I hear the cry of a baby and shorten the prayers because of my knowledge of its mother's feelings."[59]

A Model Husband

He recommended quite often that wives be treated properly. He would say, "The best of you are those who are the best towards their wives. And I am the best of you in treatment of my wives. No one honored women but an honored person, and no one humiliated them but a mean character."[60] He did not forget them in the sermons delivered during his Farewell pilgrimage. He also said, "Of your world, women and perfumes have been made dear to me. And the cool of my eyes is in prayers."[61] His own love of Khadijah ؓ showed itself whenever he slaughtered a goat. He would send parts of it to her friends, although Khadijah was long dead. 'Āishah ؓ admitted that she truly felt jealous from his attitude on such occasions.[62]

He was once seen placing his knee on the ground for his wife Safiyyah ؓ to step on and climb a camel.[63]

[57] *Al-Bukhārī* (7/75/The Book of *Adab*); *Ibn Mājah* (2/309/The Book of *Adab*/ H. 3611).

[58] *Abu Dāwud* (5/391/The Book of *Adab*/H. 5217).

[59] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (4/97/H. 707); *Muslim* (1/342-343/H. 470).

[60] Preserved by Ibn 'Asākir through 'Ali, *At-Tirmidhi* through 'Āishah, and *Ibn Mājah* through Ibn 'Abbās (1/636/H. 1978). Busiri said in *Zawā'id*, "Its chain meets the requirements of the *Shaykhayn*."

[61] Reported by Abu Shaykh: *Akhlāqul-Nabi* ﷺ, no. 247, Nasa'i in *'Ishratin-Nisa'* (7/61), Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (3/128, 199, 285) and *Ibn Sa'd* (1/398). This is an authentic report, as mentioned by Dr. Sabbāgh, in *Mukhtasarul Maqāsidil-Hasanah*, p. 95.

[62] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (14/290-291/H. 3821).

[63] *Al-Bukhārī/Al-Fath* (16/60/H. 4211).

He admonished, "Treat women well. For, woman has been created from the rib bone. And the most curved of the rib bones is the top most. If you go about trying to straighten it, you will break it. But if you left it to itself, it will remain curved. So, treat women well."[64] He also said, "How can one of you beat his wife like he would a camel, and then embrace her?"[65] According to another report the words he used were, "... like whipping a slave..."[66]

He also said, "The most perfect in faith of the believers is one who is the best of them in character. And the best of you are those who are the best to their women."[67] According to another narration, "The most perfect in faith of the believers is the best of them in character and the kindest to their women."[68]

He also said, "The greatest of reward-giving acts is to spend on the family."[69]

His Kindness towards the Weak in General

The Prophet ﷺ was sent as a mercy for the worlds:[70]

﴿وَمَآ أَرۡسَلۡنَٰكَ إِلَّا رَحۡمَةٗ لِّلۡعَٰلَمِينَ﴾

"And We haven't sent you but as a mercy unto the worlds."[71]

The Prophet ﷺ said about mercy, "When Allāh had created His

[64] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (19/303/H. 5186), *Muslim* (2/1090/H. 1468).
[65] Part of a *Hadith* narrated by Tirmidhi (4/143-144/H. 1163), who said, "This is a *Hasan-Sahih Hadith*. The *Hadith* was also reported by Ibn Mājah (no. 1851) and Imam Ahmad: *Al-Musnad* (5/72, 73).
[66] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/252-253/H. 6042).
[67] Reported by Ahmad (2/250, 472) through a *Hasan* chain, and Tirmidhi (4/135/H. 1162) who declared it *Hasan-Sahih*.
[68] Ahmad (6/47), Tirmidhi (7/277/H. 2615) who declared it *Hasan-Sahih*.
[69] *Muslim* (2/692/H. 994, 995).
[70] Part of a *Hadith* narrated by Abu Hurayrah ﷺ. He said, "It was said, 'O Prophet. Pray against the polytheists.' He replied, 'I have been sent not as a curse but as a mercy.'" This *Hadith* was also traced by Muslim (4/2007/H. 2599) and Bukhāri in *Al-Adabul-Mufrad* (no. 321).
[71] *Surat Al-Anbiya'*: 107.

creation, He wrote down in His Book which is with Him above the *'Arsh*: 'Verily, My mercy shall overcome My anger.'"[72]

The Prophet ﷺ thought of the weak even in ritual matters. He instructed those who lead in the prayers: "When one of you leads in the prayers, let him shorten it, for, among the followers are the weak, sick and the aged. When you pray by yourself, you may lengthen it as you wish." According to another report, "Some of you create revulsion. Whoever leads in the prayers should shorten them. For, among the followers are the weak, the aged and the busy."[73]

His mercy was for the servants and slaves too. He said:

1. "A believer should treat his servant or slave as his brother." Abu Dharr ﷺ narrates that the Prophet ﷺ said, "They are your brothers whom Allāh has placed under you. Therefore, feed them with what you feed yourself, clothe them with what you clothe yourself, and do not overburden them. If you have to, then lend them a helping hand."

2. Abu Hurayrah ﷺ narrates the Prophet ﷺ as having said, "When your servant prepares food and brings it forth, having borne the heat and the smoke, then let him sit with you and eat. If the food be scanty, then let him place a mouthful or two of it in his hand."[74]

3. The Prophet ﷺ instructed – from his deathbed – that the slaves be treated well.[75]

4. Abu Bakr ﷺ narrates that the Prophet ﷺ said, "He who mistreated those that are under his authority, will never enter Paradise."[76]

5. He said, "Whoever had a slave-girl, educated her in good

[72] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (3/10/H. 3194).
[73] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (2/200/H. 704), and *Muslim* (1/340-341/H. 466, 467, 468).
[74] *Muslim* (3/1284/H. 1663).
[75] See: Ahmad (3/117), *Ibn Mājah* (1/271/The Book of *Janā'iz*/H. 1625), *Abu Dāwud* (5/359/The Book of *Adab*/H. 3156).
[76] *At-Tirmidhi* (6/183 84/The Book of *Birr*/H. 1947), *Ibn Mājah* (2/313/The Book of *Adab*/H. 3735).

manners, freed her and then married her, will have double the reward."[77]

6. He also instructed that slaves be treated as one's offspring.[78]

7. He said, "The atonement of someone who slapped or beat his slave is to set him free."[79]

8. He said to Abu Mas'ūd ﷺ when he saw him beating his slave, "Know it Abu Mas'ūd that Allāh has greater power over you than you have over this young man." Abu Mas'ūd stopped beating him and freed him in fear that he will be questioned in the Hereafter.[80]

He also encouraged people to take orphans into their care, in view of their weakness and need. He said, "I, and he who looked after an orphan, will be in Paradise like this,"—demonstrating by putting together his middle and the index fingers.[81]

He also encouraged that the widows and the poor be taken care of. He said, "He who strove to meet with the needs of the widow and the poor, is like one fighting in the way of Allāh, or like him who fasts during the day and prays during the night."[82] He also said, "O Allāh, I warn (people) of the rights of two weak ones: the orphan and women."[83] He also said, "Help me in locating the weak ones, for you are helped and fed because of your weak ones."[84]

His kindness extended towards animals too. He said, "There isn't a Muslim who plants a tree from which a man or animal feed themselves, but it will be counted as a charity by him."[85] He also said, "While a man was journeying, he felt very thirsty. He found a well, went down into it and quenched his thirst. As he came out, he noticed a dog lolling his tongue and licking moist earth out of

[77] *Al-Bukhāri* (6/120-121/The Book of *Nikāh*), and *Muslim* (2/1045/H. 1429).

[78] *Ibn Mājah* (2/314/The Book of *Adab*/H. 3735).

[79] *Muslim* (3/1278/H. 1657).

[80] *Muslim* (3/1280/H. 1659).

[81] *Al-Bukhāri/AlFath* (22/219-220/H. 6005).

[82] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/221/H. 6006).

[83] *Ahmad* (439) being a report of Abu Hurayrah ﷺ through a *Hasan* chain.

[84] *Abu Dāwud* (3/73/H. 2594), and Ahmad (5/1980) through a *Sahih* chain. Bukhāri has a similar thing to report in The Book of *Jihād*.

[85] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/223/H. 6009).

thirst. He said, 'Surely, this dog is struck by thirst as much as I was.' So he went down, filled one of his socks (which used to be thick those days–*Translator*) with water and holding it by his mouth brought it out and watered the dog. Allāh appreciated his act and forgave him." They asked, "O Messenger of Allāh, shall we be rewarded for (doing good to) animals?" He answered, "Every living being brings rewards."[86]

His Kindness towards the Enemies in War and Peace

Once the Prophet ﷺ was offering his morning prayers in Hudaybiyah when seventy to eighty men descended on Tan'im in hope of striking at him. They were all captured. But the Prophet ﷺ freed them all without punishing them in any way.[87]

Similarly, he accepted ransom from the Badr prisoners and freed them. He is on record having forgiven the Quraysh at the time of the Makkan fall. Similarly, he freed the Hunayn slaves.[88]

He forgave Ghawrath bin Hārith despite the fact that he had attempted on his life. Ghawrath went back to his people and told them: "I have come to you from the best of men."[89]

Bukhāri[90] reports that a funeral procession passed by him. He stood up. He was told, "O Messenger of Allāh. That is a Jew." he said, "Wasn't he a living soul?" He prohibited the killing of women, children and servants, so long as they did not participate in the battle.[91] Whenever he sent men in a campaign, he instructed them, "Do not deceive, do not betray, do not disfigure corpses, and do not kill children."[92]

He had a Jewish servant. He would visit him when he was sick. Once he visited him and offered him Islam. His father was present. He said, "Obey Abul-Qāsim." The lad became a Muslim. The Prophet ﷺ

[86] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/222/H. 6009).

[87] See it in Al-Hudaybiyah expedition. It was a narration of *Al-Bukhāri*.

[88] This was mentioned before.

[89] See it in its place in this book. It is a narration of *Al-Bukhāri*.

[90] *Al-Fath* (6/219-220/H. 1312).

[91] See it in its place in this book.

[92] *Muslim* (3/1357/H. 1731).

someone saying something wrong, he would not reproach him directly by saying, "You said this, or that." He would rather say in public, "What's the matter with the people who say such things?!"[106]

His Refusal to criticize Food, rather Preference to praise it

Abu Hurayrah ﷺ reports, "The Prophet ﷺ never criticized any kind of food. If he liked it, he ate thereof, if he didn't, he didn't."[107]

Jābir ﷺ says that once the Prophet ﷺ asked his wives to send some curry (or some such thing). He was told that they had nothing but vinegar. He asked for it and began to eat (his bread with) it saying, "Vinegar is a good dish. Vinegar is a good dish."[108]

A Comprehensive Statement of His Qualities

It is reported of 'Abdullah bin 'Amr and 'Abdullah bin Salām ﷺ that they said, "By Allāh, he has been mentioned in the Torah with qualities that are also in the Qur'ān. Such as, 'O Prophet. We have sent you as a witness, harbinger of good tidings and a warner' unto the unlettered ones. You are My slave and Messenger. I have named you Mutawakkil: neither crude nor coarse, nor one yelling in the markets. He does not respond to evil with evil, rather forgives and pardons. God will not take back his soul until a deviated people have said, 'There is no deity except Allāh,' and will open the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf and the hearts that are covered."[109]

He did not approve of it that he be praised in a manner that would imply belittling other Prophets. He said, "Don't say I am the best of the Prophets."[110]

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[106] *Abu Dāwud* (5/143/H. 4788). Mundhiri wrote, "Nasa'i also preserved it in meaning and is *Sahih*.

[107] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (20/245-246/H. 5409).

[108] *Muslim* (3/1622/H. 2052).

[109] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (9/199-200/H. 2125).

[110] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (26/92/H. 6917), and *Muslim* (4/1844/H. 2373).

He encouraged people to be grateful and to observe patience. He used to say, "When one of you looks at someone better than him in wealth and appearance, let him look at someone lower than him also."[111]

He declared one's self-control in moments of anger as the measure of his strength.[112]

He used to forbid bad manners. He said, "Be warned of suspicion. For suspicion is false talk. Do not spy on each other and bear no rancor, nor scheme against each other. But rather, be Allāh's slaves, brothers unto each other."[113]

We might now present a long report that Tirmidhi has recorded in his *'Shamā'il'*.[114] It describes the Prophet's physical appearance as well as some of his qualities. Hasan bin 'Ali ﷺ is the narrator who says he asked his uncle Hind bin Abu Hālah,[115] who was good at describing people, to describe the Prophet's person. He said, "The Prophet ﷺ was massively built, large. His face shined like the full moon. He was taller than an average person but shorter than a tall one. He had a large head with slightly curled hair, which he parted in the middle. However,

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[111] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (24/114/H. 6490).

[112] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (22/319-320/H. 6114).

[113] *Al-Bukhāri/Al-Fath* (25/126/H. 6724).

[114] Pp. 18-26. Albāni said about it, "This collector alone has documented it. Tabarāni also recorded it (in *Al-Kabir*) as well as Bayhaqi (in *Ash-Shu'ab*), through a weak chain. It suffers from two defects as I have pointed out in *Silsilatul Ahādithus-Sahihah* (2053). I have thereat traced a narrative that supports the first part of it. This *Hadith* was also reported by Bayhaqi in his *Dalā'il* through a different chain. But 'Ali bin Ja'far bin Muhammad figures there about whom the author of *Al-Kashf* preferred to remain silent. However, he remarked in *Al-Mizān*, 'I have not known anyone pointing a defect in him, nor anyone declaring him trustworthy.' Thereafter he quoted a *Hadith* in virtue of the House of the Prophet which is extremely unlikely to be authentic. I have also recorded one of his narratives in *Ahādith Da'ifah* (2122)."

I might point out that it was also recorded by Abu Nu'aym in *Ad-Dala'il* (227) in greater length, Ibn Sa'd (1/442) and Baghawi in *Sharhus-Sunnah* (3705).

[115] Hind was a brother to Fātimah ﷺ through her mother Khadijah. ﷺ He was killed while fighting along 'Ali ﷺ in the battle of Jamal.

when he let it down, it never crossed the ear lobe. He was bright-colored, with a wide forehead, eyebrows arching down. Although they were wide, they didn't meet with each other. Between the two he had a vein that swelled when he was angry. He had a long, thin nose that stood out by its shine. Whoever did not pay attention to this fact would think he had a high nose. He had a thick beard, compressed cheeks, a wide mouth, teeth with gaps in between, a line of hair running down his chest until the navel – a mere thin line. His neck had a smooth cut and shined like silver. A well-proportioned body, neither fat nor thin, the chest and stomach in one line, wide-chested, the two shoulders widely spaced, heavy joints, the visible parts shining. A thin line of hair from the neck to the navel, but the (lower part of the) breasts and stomach free of it. But the arms, shoulders, and upper part of the breasts with lots of hair. Upper part of the palms long, the central portion (of the palm) wide, heavy hands and feet. Wide, deep soles, smooth feet that allowed easy flow of water. When he moved, he moved strongly, slightly bending forward when moving forward, walking at easy pace in long strides, as if going down a hill. When he turned, he turned full. Eyes gazing down, looking at the ground oftener than upwards. Very observant. He walked behind his Companions, initiating with the Islamic greeting before another would."

The narrator says that he asked him, "Tell me about his speaking habits." He said, "The Prophet was of pensive, thoughtful mood. Most of the time he was quiet, not speaking unless there was good reason. He would start his talk in the Name of Allāh, and end it in the Name of Allāh,[116] speaking in short meaningful phrases. In fact, his speech was without superfluous words, but at the same time not without the essential diction.

"He wasn't a dry man, nor contemptible. He was appreciative of the good things of life, even if ordinary things, never criticizing anything. He didn't criticize any food either, nor did he praise it unnecessarily.

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[116] According to a narration of Tabarāni, "he speaks with full mouth," i.e., clearly, plainly a sign of manliness.

"He wouldn't be angry over a worldly affair. But, when one of Allāh's rights was transgressed, his anger would not quell until he had avenged. He was never angry for himself, nor sought to avenge for himself. When he pointed at something, he used the whole hand. When something amazed him he turned his palms up and down, and when he spoke he moved it about. Sometimes he pressed the thumb of the right hand on to the palm of the left hand.

"When he was angry, he turned away and averted (his eyes), and when pleased, looked down. The most that he laughed was with a broad smile, which showed his snow-white teeth."

Hasan ؓ says he did not speak about the above description to Husayn ؓ. Sometime later he happened to mention to him and found that he had already spoken to the same person. In addition, he had asked 'Ali ؓ also about the Prophet ﷺ. In his own description 'Ali left nothing of the above from his description.

Hasan ؓ once asked his father 'Ali ؓ about the manners of the Prophet ﷺ when he entered his house. He said, "When he went home, he divided his time into three parts: a part for Allāh, another for his homefolk and himself, and a third for the people. In this portion he communicated his messages to those close to him, who passed them on to others, holding back nothing from anyone.

"It was his habit to give preference to the common people over the pious and virtuous ones but by their leave. Otherwise he treated them in accordance with their religiousness. Of those who came, someone was of a single need, another two, yet another several. He attended to them all and put them to the kind of work that was useful for them or for the general public, telling them what was the best thing for them to do. He would say, 'He who is present may pass on from me to those absent. And bring forward to me the needs of those who can't come, for, whoever brought to the man in power the needs of those who can't come themselves, will have Allāh affirm his feet on the Day of Judgement.'[117]

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[117] See Albāni, the verifier of *Ash-Shamā'il At-Tirmidhi*, p. 22, who said in the notes, "a part of the report is through 'Ali but carrying lot of weakness." I have thus traced it in *Silsilatul-Ahādithud-Da'ifah* (1594).

"So, people spoke nothing before him except about good and useful affairs. He too did not encourage them speak of other things. Important persons entered upon him and did not leave but well furnished, ready to guide others to good."

Hasan ﷺ said that he asked him about the manners of the Prophet ﷺ when he left his house. How (and what) did he do? He answered, "The Prophet ﷺ guarded his tongue except for what was of importance. He brought people closer and never drove them away.[118] He would honor every person who was honored by his people and place him as their leader. He would warn the people, and was wary of them except that he did not drive away anyone of them by bad behavior.

"He kept himself informed of his Companions and inquired about what the people were doing, displaying his appreciation of their good works, and strengthening them, and showing his abhorrence for the repulsive, and preventing it.

"He took the mean path in everything, not isolated, neither falling short of the truth nor overshooting it.

"Of those of the good people who sought his nearness, the best was he who was the most sincere, and such of those as were brotherly and cooperative with others."

Hasan ﷺ says he asked him about his sitting and assembly habits. He replied, "The Prophet ﷺ never rose up nor sat down but with the Name of Allāh on his lips. When he joined an assembly of men, he sat down right where it ended. In fact, he recommended the same to others. To everyone sitting around him he gave his share of attention so that everyone of them felt that he held a special position with him. When he sat with someone, or someone came to him to speak of a need of his, he never parted company until he left. When someone asked him for something, he gave him exactly what he wanted, or sought excuse with humble words. He overwhelmed the people with his goodness and had become a father unto them. And, every one of them was equal in his eyes, so far as their rights were concerned.

[118] In this meaning Allāh says: *"And had you been severe and harsh-hearted, they would have broken away from about you."* Surat *Āl 'Imrān*: 159.

"His assembly sessions were sessions of knowledge, forbearance, modesty, trust and patience. Voices were not raised nor anyone's honor molested, nor anyone's slip of a tongue circulated. They sat as equals. If any, it were the pious that were shown extra respect. Yet, they all acted humble, respecting the old, kindly to the young, giving preference to those in need and taking care of the stranger."

Husayn ﷺ says he asked his father about those who sought his company. He said, "The Prophet ﷺ carried a cheerful face. He was easy of manners, accessible, far from harshness, coarseness, shouts and immodesty. He never found fault and was never miserly. He would ignore what he didn't have the need for, and never drive anyone to despair who came to him with good hope nor disappoint him.

"He had spared himself three things: polemics, long talks and that which did not concern him.[119] He had spared others also three things: he would not criticize others, would not point out a fault, and would not go after anyone's hidden affairs. And, he never spoke unless he felt it would be rewarding.

"When he spoke, the men in assembly sat as if they had birds on their heads.[120] They only spoke when he wasn't speaking. When they did, they did not contend with him. When someone spoke in the assembly, everyone else listened until the man had finished. Those spoke first who had arrived first.

"He would laugh at what they laughed and expressed his amazement at what amazed them. When he had to deal with one of the coarse ones, he bore him with patience to the extent that his Companions wished one of them would come in (and ask him about things they themselves were afraid of asking; but which the coarse

[119] Allāh says: *"And those who turn away from vain talk,"* *Surat Al-Mu'minun*: 3. And the Prophet ﷺ has said, "It is part of the excellence of a believer's Islam that he shuns what is of no profit to him." Documented by Ahmad (3/177/H. 1737/Shākir) which Shākir declared *Sahih*.

[120] What is meant is that they remained still without any movement out of respect for the Prophet ﷺ.

ones could do).[121] He used to say, 'If you find someone in need, help him.' He did not accept to be praised but in proper measures. He did not cut down a man's talk unless he cross the bounds. (If he didn't like a topic), either he prevented it or would leave the assembly."[122]

Of those reports that describe him, one is of Umm Ma'bad of the Khuzā'ah tribe about which we have spoken while dealing with the Hijrah journey. When Abu Ma'bad asked his wife to describe him, she said, "I found him a man with a bright face. He did not have the defect of a tummy, and was of smooth skin. Heavy but good looking. Dark of eyes, eye-lashes drooping down long. Soft voice, long neck, thick beard, thick eyebrows. Dignified when quiet and graceful when speaking. Most beautiful of men when seen from a distance and most loving when close. Sweet-tongued, clear of talk, precise in expression as if pearls falling down his lips. Of average height or slightly taller whose tallness couldn't be contended, nor short for eyes to look down upon, a branch between two branches, the best between the three to look at (i.e., he and his two companions), and the most respected. He had companions who were quick at service. When he spoke they were quiet and when he ordered they hurried to do the bidding. They stayed close to him and served him well, and he was neither scowling nor oppressive with them."[123]

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[121] What is meant is that they wished strangers to show up to ask questions that they wished to ask.

[122] Shaykh Albāni the verifier of *Ash-Shamā'il At-Tirmidhi*, said, "Be informed that the *Hadith* was primarily under various chapters of one chain, but I gathered them together as one narration. Then I discovered that it coincides with the narration of Ya'qub bin Sufyān, Fasawi, Hāfiz. He too narrated the whole following one chain which Ibn Kathir copied in *Al-Bidāyah* adding, 'Abu 'Eisa Tirmidhi recorded this version in full in his *Shamā'il*, tracing it through Sufyān bin Wakil ... without indicating that it is narrated in pieces too.' Then I found it in one piece in Abu Nu'aym also."

Bayhaqi opened a special chapter for it in his *Dalā'il* (1/308-332) to cover in brief the attributes and manners of the Prophet ﷺ that find support in what Hind bint Abu Hālah through a reliable chain. I might add that most of these reports can be traced back to *Al-Bukhāri* and *Muslim*.

[123] This was reported by Baghawi in *Sharhus-Sunnah*, *Hadith* no. 3704; *Al-*

In short, the Prophet ﷺ possessed qualities of perfection. But that is of little wonder, since it was his Lord Who had trained him and said about him,

﴿وَإِنَّكَ لَعَلَىٰ خُلُقٍ عَظِيمٍ﴾

"Surely, you are on a exalted (standard) of conduct."[124]

'Āishah ﷺ said, "His conduct was (as if) the Qur'ān (in practice)."[125]

Obviously, the qualities that we have mentioned here are a small part of a large body. There is not a good characteristic mentioned in the Qur'ān or *Hadith*, but he possessed it, being of the first to live by them. It should be apparent that it is not possible to mention them all in a single chapter of a book of this size. Tirmidhi,[126] Bayhaqi,[127] Abu Shaykh,[128] Ibn Muqri,[129] Ferozeābādi,[130] Mustaghfiri,[131] Ja'far bin Haiyān the Isfahāni,[132] Baghawi[133]

Anwār fi Shamā'ilin-Nabiul-Mukhtār verified by Ibrāhim Ya'qubi, part one, p. 340, *Hadith* 456; Ibn Sa'd in *At-Tabaqāt* (1/230-231), and Hākim in *Al-Mustadrak* (3/9-10), which Dhahabi confirmed. Ibn Hishām reported part of this *Hadith* through *Ibn Ishāq* (2/146-148) through a *Hasan li Dhātihi* chain. However, it has many supporting narratives.

[124] *Surat Al-Qalam*: 4.

[125] Ibn Kathir mentioned it in *Ash-Shamā'il* and attributed it to Bayhaqi. Hākim reported this *Hadith* in *Al-Mustadrak* (2/613) and Dhahabi and Ahmad agreed to it in *Al-Musnad* (6/54); as well as Abu Shaykh, p. 28. See Baghawi: *Ash-Shamā'il* (1/164-65), footnote no. 197.

[126] See his book *Ash-Shamā'il*. Renowned scholars added to these attributes, but the most important and fully covering the topic is that of Qādi 'Iyād entitled: *Ash-Shifa bi Tarifi Huquqil-Mustafa*. Shihāb Khafāji wrote a commentary on it calling it *Nasimur-Riyād*.

[127] See his book: *Al-Adab*. It has been verified and improved by Abu 'Abdullah Sa'eed Manduwwah, being in 350 pages.

[128] See his book: *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ *wa Adābuhu*. It has been verified in 300 pages.

[129] See his book: *An-Nurus-Sāti'*. He died in 552 H.

[130] See his book: *Sifrus-Sa'ādah*. He died in 813 H.

[131] See his book: *Shamā'ilun-Nabi* ﷺ. He died in 432 H.

[132] See his book: *Akhlāqun-Nabi* ﷺ. He died in 369. It was commented upon by Dr. Sayyid Jumayli, in about 240 pages.

[133] We will deal with him separately in a moment.

and others have all tried to cover a portion of his character and conduct. Ibn Qaiyim[134] has tried to prepare a comprehensive account and seems to have succeeded better than others.

However, the best and the most comprehensive of the books on the topic is that of Husayn bin Mas'ūd Baghawi; it is entitled, *Al-Anwār fi Shamā'ilin-Nabiyul-Mukhtār*. Later, Shaykh Ibrāhim Ya'qubi improved it, traced its *Ahādith* (traditions) and added his own notes and comments. It is in two volumes running into eight hundred pages. The author collected together one thousand two hundred and fifty-seven reports that deal with nothing but the Prophet's character and conduct. In comparison, Tirmidhi has no more than four hundred.

The book *Al-Anwār fi Shamā'ilin-Nabiyul-Mukhtār* is also one of the best source books that illustrates how the Prophet's conduct and characteristics are derived from the narratives.[135]

As for Shāmi, who wrote *As-Subul,* he too collected together a huge amount of material. The part dealing with the life of the Prophet ﷺ has been rechecked recently for its authenticity.[136]

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[134] *Zādul-Ma'ād fi Hadyi Khayril-'Ibād.*
[135] See the introduction.
[136] See the contents in the first part of the published work.

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المصادر والمراجع التي ورد ذكرها أقل من ثلاث مرات، أو كانت الاستفادة منها قليلة جدًا لم نذكرها هنا، واكتفينا بذكرها في حواشي الكتاب

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تأليف/ الدكتور مهدى رزق الله أحمد

(باللغة الإنجليزية)

This work on the life history of the Prophet (ﷺ) stands out from other works in quite a few ways. First, every detail mentioned has been traced back to original sources, whose authenticity has been discussed extensively in the footnotes. Second, the events of the Prophet's life have been related to modern times and lessons drawn for the benefit of those who happen to face similar situations in their struggle to spread the Prophetic message.

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